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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Washington Inquisition

EVERYONE KNOWS that the Dies Committee is in the habit of making reckless and totally unjustified charges of radicalism against liberals. In hundreds of cases, careful investigation has determined that the committee's charges were without any basis in fact. Because of this, the House of Representatives some time ago set up the Kerr Committee, to check on the accusations of the Dies Committee, particularly in regard to about forty important employees of various government bureaus. Washington gossip says that Mr. Kerr and his colleagues will probably repudiate Mr. Dies in a good many cases. In the meantime, however, the Appropriations Committee, following the Kerr group, is moving this week toward a monstrous miscarriage of justice. It proposes to remove from their posts several good Americans, including Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands, under the law which forbids employment in government service to persons connected with organizations plotting the overthrow of the American government by violence.

This is a piece of outrageous nonsense. For a single example, Bob Lovett, formerly an editor of The New Republic and for a generation professor of English literature at the University of Chicago, is just about as subversive as George Washington or Abraham Lincoln. We would wager that he has performed more patriotic service to his country than all the members of the House Appropriations Committee combined. Secretary Ickes, Bob Lovett's superior, was only one of many prominent citizens to come to his rescue. Said Mr. Ickes:

> There have been two legislative groups of the government thoroughly familiar with Dr. Lovett and his work. They have known him for much longer than the two hours spent by the Kerr Subcommittee in its adjudication of a man's life. For more than four years Dr. Lovett has been in intimate and continuing contact with the municipal council of St. Thomas and St. John and that of St. Croix in the Virgin Islands. Both of these groups wrote to the Kerr Subcommittee indorsing Dr. Lovett's character and patriotism, and insisting that he symbolizes the Americanism for which their sons are fighting and dying.
>
> Under the Constitution, the Congress has no power to remove an officer of the executive branch, and cannot undertake to accuse, to judge or remove such officer on the grounds and through the procedures used here.
>
> Dr. Lovett is a genuinely good man. His only son was killed in action at Belleau Wood in the last war. He was born an American, has lived as an American for seventy-three years, and today deserves American treatment from his government, and not the type of liquidation that is offered in conquered European nations.
>
> I have known Dr. Lovett personally for forty-five years or more, but I need only to quote what others have said about him to demonstrate why I have such confidence in him.
>
> The Federal Bureau of Investigation's agents who investigated Dr. Lovett in the Virgin Islands talked to many persons and found not one who said that Dr. Lovett harbored subversive sympathies.
>
> This is no time to persecute our kindly people. These

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witch hunts of Congressman Dies will bring, in the years to come, blushes of shame to the faces of all Americans, just as the recollection of the witch hunts of old Salem or of the last war does among us today.

It would be hard to exaggerate the danger of the policy being used by Congress against Lovett and other government employees, including Dr. Goodwin Watson and Dr. William E. Dodd Jr. That method is to pass an appropriations bill with a proviso that no part of the money appropriated shall be used to pay the salary of the individual named. This is, first, an outrageous interference of the legislative with the executive branch of the government. Second, it is a violation of Anglo-Saxon judicial procedure, finding a man guilty and punishing him without a trial, in star-chamber proceedings without public testimony, with no right of appeal to a higher tribunal. Third, it punishes a man for his mere beliefs, even assuming that he holds the opinions with which he is charged, which is usually not true. Everyone knows that men are in fact being dismissed in Washington because they support President Roosevelt, whom Mr. Dies and his friends dislike and propose to drive from public life if they can.

How the witch-hunters operate is beautifully shown in the action regarding Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, of Williams College, who is on leave for service with the Federal Communications Commission. Dr. Schuman was himself attacked by Dies and investigated by the Kerr Committee, which, however, cleared him of the charges. In a public statement a few days ago, Dr. Schuman criticized the action of the Kerr Committee in regard to Watson and Dodd. We quote from a newspaper account of what happened next:

This report from Schuman stirred up a hornets' nest in the House. The Appropriations Committee quickly rescinded its previous action clearing him and a new move to uphold the Dies charges against him was started.

If there has been any more terrifying example of the degeneration of representative government in America in recent years than this, we do not know what it is. The Appropriations Committee says almost in so many words to Dr. Schuman: "We propose now to dismiss you from your government post for having the temerity to disagree with us. We have tried you once and found you innocent of subversive activity, but that does not matter. No man shall raise his hand against the congressional witch-hunters and still receive money from a government pay roll for his services."

If Dies and his friends can get away with their persecution of Lovett, Schuman and the others, no American is safe. They propose to make over the United States in their own image, and an ugly image it is. We urge our readers to speak out firmly against these outrages which would seem so completely natural and normal in Hitler's Germany. Write to your Senator and Representative and tell them what you think of this sort of business. Send a copy of your letter to The New Republic. It sounds banal to say so, but it is still perfectly true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Hitlerism in Germany began with abuses of power less serious than those that are being witnessed in Washington today.

Overconfidence

It looks very much as though the American people were suffering from overconfidence again. The speed with which the North African victory was completed has caused a fresh crop of reports that Germany is about to collapse and that the war may be over, so far as Europe is concerned, this summer. The recklessness with which American civilians are now using up gasoline and tires is an indication of overconfidence. The press is not helping any, when it plays up rumors of collapse of the Axis inside Europe. Hundreds of such rumors in the recent past have proved to be false.

It is worth remembering that British and American naval and air forces were largely responsible for the speed of the North African victory. They destroyed so many Axis ships and planes on their way to North Africa that they put the German and Italian armies under a severe strain, though to say this is not to belittle the work of the United Nations armies in Tunisia, which did a magnificent job.

When we invade Europe, however, we shall meet a very different situation. The enemy will be operating on interior lines of communication, and despite such transportation difficulties as are described by Dr. Fritz Sternberg on page 689 of this issue, the resistance will be strong, while it will be our side which must then be serviced from across narrow seas. There is every probability that the struggle will be long and costly. Certainly there is no possible excuse for relaxation of effort at home. This is no time for civilian joy-riding, or for labor disputes if they can possibly be avoided. The "lunatic fringe" in Congress must be made to behave if it can possibly be managed. To let down now on our effort might prolong the war to a tragic extent.

Attu

No one needs to underline the importance of the new military operation which began on May 11 with our landing on Attu in the Aleutians. If we can take Attu and take or immobilize Kiska, the road is open to Tokyo; if we can't, the road is open for the Japanese to Seattle and San Francisco. Confidence in the outcome is expressed in Washington, no doubt because it would have been folly for us to "send a boy to do a man's job" on such an important errand. We regret, however, that for the first six days of the fight on Attu all important information came from the enemy. We did not even admit the landing until forced to by a

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Japanese broadcast. Three days later Secretary Knox expressed optimism; and that was all. It is nonsense to say that military secrecy required this long stretch of silence. The Japanese, having it all their own way, were able to create among Americans a degree of dubiety which may prove to have been quite needless. We predict that, as on so many occasions in the past, the navy's silence will prove to have been, not the result of strategic wisdom, but just plain bungling.

Discard Expediency

The next week or two should tell a great deal about American policy, as expressed through the State Department, toward France and toward other European countries now occupied by the Nazis. So far as we know, nobody in the State Department or elsewhere in the government has defended the policy of working with Vichyites in North Africa on any other basis than sheer expediency. Whatever may have been true in the past, all reason for such expediency is now gone. North Africa has been completely cleared of the enemy. Our next landing will not be on a quasi-friendly shore where we can take advantage of despicable characters who betrayed their own country once and are now willing to betray its enemies. From now on, we must fight our way ashore and go on fighting. There is some reassurance in the promise a few days ago that in each country we will accept only unconditional surrender and negotiate only with military figures. A year ago, we should have said that military rule of a conquered territory was dangerous; but it is certainly better than dealing with politicians, if the politicians are to be like the ones with whom we have recently been consorting. But it still remains true that we can and should work with the genuine democrats in each country and help them to arrange an expression of the free will of all the people. If we do that, there is very little doubt that the people will vote for a democratic regime.

Conditions in Bolivia

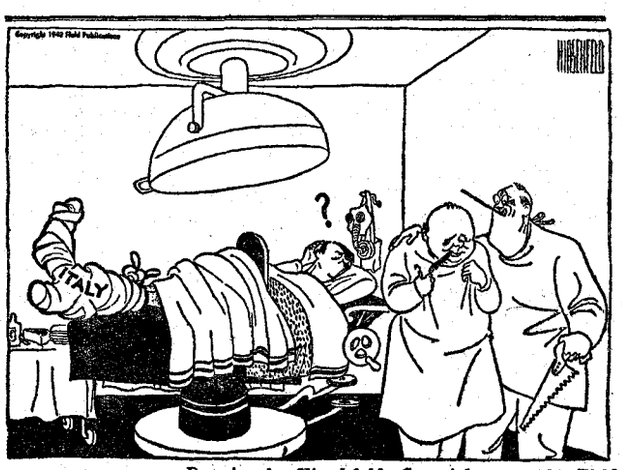
Ever since public attention in the United States was directed toward the labor situation in the Bolivian tin mines last year, a dusky State Department haze has hovered over the whole question. When our national conscience became sufficiently stirred, the State Department took steps to constitute a Joint United States-Bolivian Commission to study labor conditions in Bolivia. The commission returned from its official visit to Bolivia, filed its report with the State Department with almost no publicity, and went home—all except Martin Kyne, the CIO representative on the delegation, who last week presented his own Bolivian report to the CIO Latin American Committee.

By average standards, Kyne's report was sensational. If it had received any attention at all from the general press at the time of its release, it would have been super-colossal in timing, coming as it did at the time of the visit of President Enrique Penaranda to this country. Kyne's report, for one thing, accused General Penaranda of giving the order that led to the shooting of the striking tin workers at Catavi last December. While President Penaranda was in Washington receiving the tribute due the head of an Allied state José Antonio Arze, the defeated candidate for the presidency of Bolivia, took occasion to warn the President that "violent days may come" unless he takes real steps to set all Bolivian industrial conditions, not only those in the tin mines, in good order.

Let Labor Intervene

Arze was urging a four-point program which was generally in line with what the United States investigating committee wished to accomplish. He was demanding: real labor participation, full coöperation with the United States, freedom of the press and of politics, the education and political advancement of the illiterate masses. That was all very well, but meanwhile the Bolivian President was receiving honors from unthinking or reactionary United States citizens. Columbia University gave him an LL.D., free of charge; other cities paid him homage. Meanwhile the Michigan Industrial Union Council indicated that it would not be happy to greet him, and the Cuban Confederation of Workers asked Penaranda not to stop in Cuba on his way home.

The most important point in Kyne's report was his recommendation that the CIO invite the AFL, the National Farmers' Union and the Railroad Brotherhoods to form a joint council on Latin American relations to study both war and post-war problems of mobilization and readjustment. The existence of such a committee can be of the utmost importance in establishing actual channels for communication between the United States and Latin American labor. It can mean the difference between isolation and coöperation. We hope that those invited join with the CIO immediately in establishing the kind of joint council which can be a real force for Pan American unity.



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Doctors Churchill and Roosevelt Consult on Future Operations

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British Medicine Looks Ahead

Four hundred British physicians, members of Medical Planning Research, have presented a careful analysis of British medical conditions and medical needs in their Interim General Report, now available in America through the Medical Administration Service, Inc., at 1790 Broadway, New York City. The report is remarkable for its wide grasp of social problems and its recognition of the inter-action between medical and social responsibilities. It proposes principally: nationwide health insurance to be paid for by graduated deductions from income; a state network of health centers and hospitals like today's military hospitals; salaries for all doctors and other medical personnel, with complete freedom in their practice. Their plan for physicians provides for study, research, travel and rest—professional necessities the great majority of doctors cannot now afford.

Medical Planning Research has made available for the first time the opinions of young physicians now in uniform on post-war society and medicine's place in it. Its members recognize that demobilization, industrial reconversion, reconstruction of damaged cities and lives must be met with sound planning, of which medicine can do only part. They want not only healthy bodies but well trained minds, emotional as well as economic security. We need such clear thinking to counteract the poisonous nonsense of our professional medical stand-patters.

Pigeons

We wish to report a good deal of excitement in the New Republic office lately that had nothing to do with the normal tasks of getting out a magazine once a week. The NR is published from the fourteenth and fifteenth floors of a New York skyscraper; and a few weeks ago, someone glanced out a fourteenth-floor window and learned a bit of news. On the fire-escape a discarded piece of carpet had been crumpled in a corner, and here a pigeon had deposited a setting of eggs which she evidently proposed to hatch, having made an excessively rudimentary nest with a few odds and ends of straw and twigs.

The female contingent in the New Republic office, to the number of several dozens, promptly flew into a degree of excitement strongly suggestive that this was the first, or at least the most wonderful, pigeon that had ever settled down to maternal problems, in world history. The circulation department tried to ruin her digestion with too many cake crumbs; the business department gave her twice as many saucers of clean water as any pigeon could drink; the editorial department cooed over her in proper pigeon tones. (Incidentally, her mate, whoever he is, ignored the whole proceeding.)

After the customary number of days, the eggs hatched and produced two soggy-looking balls of yellow baby bird, mottled here and there with black spots to indicate approaching feathers. On that great day, the office was organized on a courier basis. Business affairs bogged down while runners reported from the scene of action: "She left to get them food but came back in ten minutes." "The bigger baby is moving around on the carpet." "The mother has them both under one wing now." . . . At first glance, you might be inclined to deplore so much interest in a simple natural phenomenon, in the middle of a world war against fascism; but our vote is the other way. In fact, we have a feeling that an interest in baby pigeons and a passionate desire to see that they get their chance to grow up is probably as good a proof of essential anti-Hitlerism as any other.

New Address

"Something new has been added" to the street address of The New Republic. It is now 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17, N. Y. As most people know, nearly 200 of the leading cities of the United States have been divided into numbered postal zones in order to speed up the mail. We count on our correspondents to use the new address when writing to us, and thus help an overburdened postal system many of whose members have exchanged their gray-blue government uniforms for others of a different color and less peaceable intent.

Subsidies v. High Prices

IN THE ATTEMPT to roll back the cost of living, the administration has announced that it will resort to subsidies. Congress, dominated by an inflationary farm bloc, has on various occasions expressed its preference for rising prices, and has denied appropriations for subsidies in the interest of a reduced cost of living. Threats are now heard that if the RFC funds are used for this purpose, the RFC itself will find difficulty in getting further appropriations. What is the necessity for the subsidy method, and how does it differ from what Congress wants?

Production Is Basic. – We must begin with the proposition that the elementary requirement is large production of those things that are needed for war. The traditional stimulus to large production, under competitive private enterprise, is an increase in price. This is supposed to provide a greater incentive to the producer. There is, however, a far more important reason why full production can ordinarily be obtained only with an increase in price. In any industry you may think of, the various producing units have different costs of production. Some are at the lower end of the scale because of greater efficiency or more favorable situation.

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From them costs range upward to those establishments which are least efficient or have the fewest advantages. The spread in costs is usually wide. When demand is weak and prices are low, only those units with the lowest costs can afford to operate. As demand increases and prices rise, more and more producers are activated, until eventually full production is attained by a price high enough to bring into operation those units with the highest costs.

How Subsidies Work. – Under war or other controls, subsidies may be substituted for price increases in order to call forth full production. First the government sets prices high enough to continue the production of the low-cost units, but not high enough to keep high-cost units going. Then it pays the high-cost units sums sufficient, when added to the money they receive from sales, to keep them also in production. Naturally, in order to do this, you have to know what the costs of the various units in the industry are, and vary the subsidies according to the necessity of the case.

Subsidies may also be employed in slightly different circumstances. One is to attract producers into new fields, where existing capacity would not be sufficient even if it were all utilized. Another is to prevent a price rise which, though it might stimulate production, would restrict consumption on the part of those with low incomes—as in the case of meat or dairy products. In such a case a subsidy may actually be a more effective means of maintaining large production than a price increase.

The Argument against Subsidies. – The usual argument against the use of subsidies as a substitute for price increases is that they are a fraud, since what the consumer saves in prices he will have to pay to the government in taxes, in order that it may have the money to pay the subsidies.

This argument itself is a fraud, as anyone who can do a simple sum in arithmetic can prove to himself. When prices rise, the consumers pay more for the *whole* product of the industry. When prices do not rise, but full production is maintained by subsidies, the taxpayers have to pay extra only for that *part* of the output which is subsidized.

In a case where subsidies are paid to *all* the producers, the sum necessary for the subsidies may equal the amount that would be consumed by a price increase required to stimulate the same output. Nevertheless, if the product in question is something like food, the sales of which depend on the purchasing power of retail consumers (many of whom have small incomes), the result of a price increase might ultimately be smaller production, in consequence of decreased demand. Thus the national necessity is better served by the subsidy, which increases real income, whereas the price boost would decrease it. Subsidies of this nature may be eventually financed, not by higher taxes on the poorer consumers, but by higher taxes on those who can afford to buy enough food anyway. Or they may be financed by an increase in the national debt, since a nation with a higher real income can always afford the increase in credit necessary to produce that income.

Another argument against subsidies that seems to be going strong in the farm regions is a matter not of arithmetic but of emotions. The farmers are said to feel that anyone who gets a subsidy from the government is in some sense a public almoner; they do not want to be objects of charity but rather independent producers who earn their money in receipts from the market. This sounds a little strange from people who have been receiving immense subsidies in various forms for many years, from protective tariffs to adjustment payments and government crop loans above the market. Nevertheless it is quite possible that they have a bad conscience about government help and want to get all they can out of the market while the going is good. To meet this objection an educational campaign would seem to be indicated, to explain to the farmers that they are really helping the government, instead of depending on it, if they produce more at lower prices.

The Real Source of the Objection. – Those who are stimulating the opposition to subsidies are doing so, not really because they cannot do simple sums in arithmetic, but because they can. Their arithmetic shows them exactly what ours reveals—that while higher prices are worse for the consumers and the warring nation than subsidies which stimulate an equivalent amount of production, they result in larger profits to those who usually make the largest profits anyway. Subsidies may also mean higher taxes in the upper brackets.

Even these objectors, however, if they could look a little beyond their immediate interest, would be wary of the inflation which rising prices generate.

Subsidies No Panacea. – This argument for subsidies as a substitute for price increases in a war economy does not mean to imply that they have no faults, or that they would be the most desirable permanent policy. They require careful accounting control, and costs are very difficult to ascertain. In some circumstances, they may promote overutilization of the less efficient at the expense of the more efficient units. They are at best a compromise with an industrial situation which is itself irrational from an engineering point of vew.

Numerous other devices, such as pooling of sales under government control, may be preferable when there is time to work them out and apply them. In any event, long-term policy should be directed toward reducing the costs of the less efficient units, and rearranging industries so that all units would share the situational advantages of those which are most fortunate.

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Mr. Lewis Pro and Con

THE ARTICLE by Professor Mills on page 695 of this issue presents a point of view regarding the situation of the coal miners of which not enough has been heard. Professor Mills is wholly right in saying that the operators acted badly in turning down Dr. Steelman's proposal, which had already been accepted by John L. Lewis. He is right, further, when he says that Lewis forced the spineless OPA into taking action for a rollback on prices which it might otherwise not have taken. His criticism of the government's whole policy on inflation control, that it has been timid, opportunistic and without fixed principles, is valid.

But some of Professor Mills's other contentions seem to us more dubious. We feel he misses the point when he says that the government's basic assumption is "that the interests of the nation are to be identified with the contentions of the mine owners." We believe, on the contrary, the basic assumption is that in time of war it is absolutely essential that the production of coal should not be interrupted. Professor Mills is hair-raisingly calm about a situation where we have enough coke and coal "for ten days to two weeks" and where steel production would not be diminished for "some time." Once a strike starts, no one can say how long it will continue. It is literally and precisely true that an American coal strike of sufficient duration could cause the United Nations to lose the war.

Professor Mills's remarkable calm in contemplating this contingency leads him into an error of judgment about the merits of Lewis' handling of the situation. He seems to feel that Lewis had only two choices: to give way to the coal operators completely, or to call a strike. But this is not so. Other union leaders have managed to get adjustments of wages and other conditions in wartime without breaking labor's anti-strike pledge. Lewis' hatred of the President carried over into a totally unjustified hatred of the War Labor Board. The fact that the coal operators wanted to force the dispute into the hand of the government did not mean that this was a bad idea for the miners. Lewis was not here acting as a labor statesman; he was acting as a man swayed by a mean and petty personal grudge.

It is true that the rigid application of the President's "hold the line" order temporarily embarrassed the War Labor Board; but everybody, including Lewis, certainly knew that the "hold the line" order would not be interpreted in the long run to continue subnormal and inequitable wages such as those that the coal miners were getting. To say that the War Labor Board is hostile to independent collective bargaining between employers and employees seems to us a complete misreading of the facts. The War Labor Board is trying to keep the productive machinery of the country going in wartime; it certainly does not intervene in any dispute unless such intervention is necessary; if most of its cases originate outside the ranks of labor, that is a testimony to the patriotic devotion of the workers. Lewis did not really challenge the Little Steel formula, which still continues to dominate. On the contrary, the coal miners constitute one of the exceptions for which the Little Steel formula expressly provided.

Mr. Mills suggests that Lewis' action may cut off labor from the New Deal, and hints that this does not matter greatly, apparently because the New Deal is dead or dying. But in fact, labor and the New Deal have not been estranged because of Lewis; what has happened is that Lewis has been estranged from most of the rest of organized labor. Its attitude was well expressed a few days ago by the Executive Council of the CIO, which adopted a resolution both supporting the miners and attacking Lewis for carrying on "his personal and political vendetta against the President of the United States." What the miners themselves think of Lewis, we do not know. We do know that many coal miners, only a few months ago, went on strike, not against the mine owners, but against Lewis. We know further that his rule is autocratic and dictatorial, so much so that the miners never get any real opportunity to repudiate his leadership at the ballot box.

Mr. Mills is, in our opinion, too casual in his comment that for favorable opinion, "an effective public-relations system among trade unions" is necessary. The public relations of most unions had been pretty good lately, until John L. Lewis wrecked the situation with his blunt attitude of being bigger than the government and more important than the war. He probably does not regret this; he has said over and over that he doesn't give a damn for public opinion. But this opinion is in fact more important than he realizes. If Congress passes savage anti-union legislation, Lewis will be more to blame than anyone else. And the tragic fact is that all this was needless. A really able leader of the miners could have accomplished everything Lewis has done without any of the odium he has engendered.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Will German Railroads Crack?

THE ALLIED VICTORY in Tunisia, whatever its importance as a setback to the Nazis' military plans, is a direct threat to the German railroad transportation system. To Germany, railroad transportation is as vital as shipping is to the United States and Britain. After four years of war, the German transport system—already so heavily taxed—must soon pass its first decisive test. This test will come with invasion, when other fronts on the European continent are added to the eastern front. Will Germany's transport system be able to cope with these gigantic new tasks?

We gain a clearer picture of the situation if we compare the present German transport difficulties with those of World War I, and try at the same time to bring out the decisive differences. Germany entered the First World War with a railroad system that could meet peacetime demands for supply and replacement of locomotives, cars and tracks even in boom periods. Before the outbreak of the war, Germany's track mileage amounted to 63,622 kilometers. Her rolling stock consisted of 29,520 locomotives and 754,377 passenger, baggage and freight cars. With this reserve Germany entered the First World War, which she was forced to wage on two fronts from the very outset. In the course of the war, Germany's gains in the west and in the east considerably extended the scope of the German-controlled railroad network. But Germany's conquests at that time were small compared to those of today. At the time of the greatest expansion in military traffic, in April, 1918, the total mileage of the railroads used for German troop movements was 25,576 kilometers—about 40 percent of the total.

During the German advances in the west and in the east, considerable railroad equipment fell into German hands, but this booty was only a fraction of what was needed by her armies in the occupied regions.

In an article entitled, "The Railroad in *Wehrwirtschaft*," published shortly before the Second World War started, Gen. Georg Thomas, the present head of Germany's Economic General Staff, reported in detail the precarious situation in World War I, as follows:

> The armies which had pushed deeply into enemy country extended the railroad network by *two-fifths of its peacetime radius*. Yet *the size of the captured railroad network* did not correspond to the *size of the seized rolling stock*. Therefore, a great deal of railroad personnel and material had to be drawn from home. In addition, Germany had to supply the railroads of our Allies with locomotives and cars. Conversions, innovations, radical organizational measures had to be adopted in all branches of the railway system. There remained the considerably lengthened communication lines and the continually growing deterioration of the rolling stock.

These conditions formed the background for Ludendorff's famous statement in the winter of 1916-17 that the building of locomotives had become as vital as the production of guns. But the conduct of the war in 1914-18 was not noticeably impaired by these difficulties. Passenger traffic was greatly restricted, the civilian population suffered and the entire rolling stock was worn down to such an extent that in the first years after the war serious transport crises arose. Yet, all in all, the German High Command was in a position to use the railroads for its two-front war without too great strain.

Hundreds of volumes have appeared in Germany, especially under the Nazi regime, about the experiences of the First World War and their application to the preparations for World War II, but, strangely enough, in railroad transportation, Germany has made no use of her experiences in the last war.

Nazi Germany expanded her highways (for the most part useless today, because there is no oil for the trucks), but she neglected railroad transportation to an amazing degree. In the years between the Nazis' seizure of power and the outbreak of the Second World War, German production, and with it the transport requirements of the *Reichsbahn*, grew apace; but this increased volume of transportation was accommodated by a rolling stock that was wearing out and falling off in number, so that finally Germany's rolling stock not only tagged behind that of the boom years of 1928-29, but also behind that of the gravest depression years. In the boom year of 1928, the German *Reichsbahn* had 673,500 freight cars on hand; in 1933, the gravest year of depression, it had only 632,000; but in 1938 this number had fallen to 593,000.

Shortly before the outbreak of the war, when the difficulties began to mount, the Deutsche Volkswirt wrote (on October 21, 1938) as follows: "It seems that the *Reichsbahn* lacks the 70,000 to 80,000 additional cars which it had at its disposal in 1929. To this the fact must be added that in 1929 the rolling stock was on the average nine years younger, and thus probably better inured to extreme wear and tear."

These difficulties grew to such an extent that the German Economic General Staff decided, despite its huge rearmament program shortly before the outbreak of the war, to launch a big new works project for the German railroads. Details of this project were published in the Deutsche Volkswirt of March 3, 1939. The program, called "unprecedented in railroad history" by State Secretary of Railroads Kleinmann, envisaged for the four years between 1940 and 1943 the purchase of 6,000 locomotives; 10,000 passenger cars; 112,000 freight and baggage cars; 17,300 motor vehi-

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cles and carriages and a large number of special vehicles. Based on the latest available figures on the rolling stock of the *Reichsbahn*, these purchases were to result in an increment quota of one-third for locomotives, and of about one-sixth for passenger, freight and baggage cars. Production was started in the summer of 1939, but only a few thousand cars had been completed when the Second World War began.

Our analysis shows that in striking contrast to Hohenzollern Germany, Nazi Germany had no "adequate reserves of rolling stock" at the beginning of the Second World War. Her rolling stock was not even able to fill peacetime requirements, and consisted of fewer cars than in the severest years of crisis, with materials that were for the most part obsolete.

Two factors explain the Nazis' ability to satisfy all military needs in the first years of World War II, despite a railroad system that was poorly organized.

1. In contrast to World War I, Nazi Germany has so far been able to fight a one-front war from the viewpoint of her railroad transportation. In the fall of 1939, when Germany defeated the Poles, she was able to concentrate the German troop transports on the eastern front. In 1940, when she overran France and Western Europe, the German railroads could be concentrated in the west. And in 1941, when Russia was invaded, the number of the military transports necessary to supply the armies of occupation in the rest of Europe was small.

2. To this one must add the vast booty in railroad materials seized by the Nazis in continental Europe in the first years of the war. It is true that the German-controlled railroad network has been greatly expanded. If the railroad network in World War I employed for military purposes was only about 40 percent of that of Germany proper, it is today about twice as large. The Frankfurter Zeitung of December 12, 1942, reported Germany using 161,000 kilometers of track, with a personnel of no less than 1,700,000. But the expansion of the German-controlled railroad network was on the other hand equalized to some extent by the seizure of vast numbers of rolling stock. We give below (in thousands) the figures on German rolling stock, and the rolling stock seized from the conquered and occupied countries:

Country	*Locomotives*	*Passenger Cars*	*Freight Cars*
Germany and Austria	23	70	611
France	19	33	503
Poland	5	12	160
Czecho-Slovakia	4	9	34
Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway	6	14	157
Southeastern Europe	9	12	172
Finland and the Baltic States[1]	2	3	40
Total	68	153	1,677

[1] Part of the material fell into Russian hands.

These figures show that before the war started the conquered countries had about twice the number of German locomotives and freight cars. Undoubtedly part of their material was destroyed by the war. But what remained was enough to facilitate the movement of the German troop transports to the eastern front, particularly if one remembers that the removal of railroad material from the subjugated regions to Germany was carried out regardless of how greatly the standard of living in the occupied countries was reduced.

The looting of railroad materials in the occupied countries is something that can happen only once in this war—it cannot be repeated. It has for a time alleviated the German transport difficulties, but has never eliminated them completely. By the summer of 1942, these difficulties had already grown to such an extent that locomotive production was given 1-A priority, along with planes, submarines and tanks—indeed locomotive production was temporarily stepped up at the expense of tank output. Nevertheless, the increased output of locomotives and freight cars has been unable to make up completely for the Nazis' miscalculations in the pre-war period.

Two other factors have direct bearing on the problems confronting the German railroad system today: The air raids by the RAF and the American Air Forces have destroyed a considerable percentage of Germany's industrial output. All indications seem to point to vastly increased air attacks in the months to come. Up to now the raids by the RAF and the American Air Forces have been confined to a limited area, and have not, on the whole, gone very far beyond Berlin, leaving the industrial centers in eastern Germany relatively unharmed. But the German Economic General Staff is in no position to evacuate any considerable portion of German industry from the regions that are most severely exposed to the raids, because the rail system, overtaxed as it is, cannot carry this additional traffic. Furthermore, railroad difficulties will not enable Germany to upset Allied offensive strategy by a thrust into Turkey, or Spain. Today the General Staff must husband its railroad material as much as planes and oil.

If the theatre of operations in 1943 were to remain essentially the same as in 1942, then the German railroad network would probably be able to meet outstanding military requirements. But there are many signs that show the imminence of vital changes in 1943.

The victory in Tunisia has freed millions of tons of shipping for the United Nations and therefore makes the German transport situation worse by comparison. If the Allies attack in Europe, the German General Staff will have additional fronts to defend, covering thousands of miles, from the North Cape to the Gulf of Biscay, and thousands of miles in the south of their Fortress of Europe.

True, this fortress gives them the advantage of holding inner lines. But they face the disadvantage of

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being forced to defend the fortress on the periphery, and the periphery is tremendously extended. Altogether it exceeds the length of the Russian front several times, and at many points the distance from German industrial centers is far greater than those covered by the German supply service to the most advanced spots of the Russian front. An additional disadvantageous factor is that German supply lines must run through countries which have been systematically robbed of a major part of their railroad materials.

If the Allies further weaken German industry and the German transport network with their attacks from the air, if they now begin organizing additional fronts for the invasion of the Fortress of Europe, the Nazis' transportation system may turn out to be one of the decisive bottlenecks in the German conduct of the war. Of course it will not simply collapse—but its ever growing weaknesses may make the invasion of Europe easier in more ways than are usually recognized.

FRITZ STERNBERG

The War-Mobilization Crisis

LAST WEEK the baby Senate Investigating Committee, the Kilgore Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, issued its first report, which concluded with this forthright statement: "It is with regret that the committee is compelled to report that war mobilization is in crisis. Either we go forward to undertake the integration of basic mobilization policies in the fields of manpower, production and stabilization, or we will continue to proceed haltingly from one emergency to another. The time has come—indeed, it has all but passed—for basic policy integration. We cannot accept the doctrine that we are in the middle of a war and therefore cannot undertake to effect total mobilization. That is a doctrine of despair. It must be discarded if we are to forge ahead for victory." The committee report then went on to recommend the passage of S. 607, a bill to create a War Mobilization Board to formulate comprehensive mobilization policies and see that they are put into effect.

What the committee was saying and what its bill was recommending was nothing new. The Tolan Committee, the Truman Committee and the Pepper Subcommittee, among others, have been repeating this same theme for more than a year, and urging legislation to establish this kind of program. But last week the Kilgore report received a special welcome in a discouraged Washington which, despite the bright news from Tunisia, remained depressed by records of behind-schedule production in many essential programs, evidence of overproduction of facilities in certain industries, and by material reductions in various production goals for aircraft, tanks and ordnance. Recurring rumors, by word of mouth and in the trade press, to the effect that production of many types of civilian goods is scheduled to be resumed very soon has recently been deepening this depression among war workers who know how far we still are from victory and how much remains to be done before we can attain it.

In announcing material requirements and allotments for the third-quarter production program, Donald Nelson recently admitted the gravity of our raw-materials situation, flatly stating that for the forthcoming period we shall certainly again be faced with serious shortages of alloy steel, copper and aluminum. "We cannot justify the use of a single pound of these materials for nonessential purposes," he said. But the business-as-usualites were not in the least impressed by Nelson's statements. No sooner had he issued the third-quarter report than the trade press began to hint at new developments which would allow a return to the production of civilian goods. Walter D. Fuller of the Curtis Publishing Company, chairman of the NAM executive committee, told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee that "The war-production program of America has reached such staggering proportions that cutbacks in that program are now being made, and as a result of these cutbacks it will be possible to start in a small way with the resumption of the production of certain essential articles for our civilian economy." Two generals denied his statement. Brehon Somervell, chief of the Services of Supply, speaking to the United States Chamber of Commerce, did not pull his punches. "The enemy could implant no more subtle propaganda in the minds of our people," he said of the reports of "overproduction." Lt.-Gen. William Knudsen seconded this sentiment in an Omaha speech the other day. They and their army and navy colleagues are deeply distressed by this insidious rumor. They know the harmful consequences to war production which will result unless it is nailed down immediately—unless civilian requirements are held down to rock bottom in spite of selfish interests that want to get back to the old profitable way of running things.

Production officials trying to find alibis for particular production failures have customarily fallen back on two stock reasons: raw-material shortages or manpower shortages. The Kilgore report addressed itself to this point: "The principal cause for our failure to meet the President's production goals has been the lack of proper mobilization policies and the necessary war organization to execute these policies. Alleged material and manpower shortages are a result of these lacks." The *alleged* shortages are a *result* of the lack of properly

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mobilized war-production organization, the committee contended in challenging official alibis. A lack of real mobilization in individual war agencies and the failure to coördinate policies and action between agencies is still the basic trouble.

To judge by recent results, many war agencies have been having a good deal of difficulty in distinguishing between decentralization and disintegration. The War Manpower Commission, for instance, set out to center its operations on the point of closest contact with employers and employees. By their very nature, old state employment services in many cases reflect local employer interests, and the new state and regional Manpower Commission staffs which have been set up to direct the old employment-service organization turn out to be headed, in most cases, by local industry men, susceptible to special-interest pressures in situations involving manpower. In other words, manpower operations have been decentralized at the expense of the public interest.

The enactment of H. J. R. 96, giving the county agricultural-extension-service agents full power over the mobilization of farm labor for the whole country, was a mistake from the standpoint of efficiency in this part of the war program. The failure of Food Administrator Chester Davis to set up any system for overcoming the barriers to food production means that in all probability we shall not come up to even the borderline food goals we had set for ourselves for this harvest year. Meanwhile, the persistent real-estate lobby is putting pressure on Price Administrator Prentiss Brown to decentralize into ineffectiveness one part of his authority, that of rent control. All they ask is decentralization, according to their own meaning of the term, in line with the disintegration of other decentralized programs.

Decentralization of the WPB into the hands of industry would not even have to leave Washington to be almost entirely effective. Industrial control of the various Industry Branches of the WPB has led in turn to Industry-Branch rule over most war-production matters. It was only with the coming of Charles E. Wilson that this type of control was challenged. Unfortunately, not even Charlie Wilson can accomplish everything at once, and since his coming into power at the WPB, he has devoted his efforts primarily to breaking bottlenecks holding up the production of the much discussed "critical common components." He has been trying to institute tight scheduling on the eighty-six or so critical components covered under the General Scheduling Order—M-293—and he has been piecing out this necessary operation with a system of troubleshooters on manpower, machine tools and other facilities needed to turn out the components, and with what are called Production Task Committees and Temporary Liaison Officers, composed of top industry men. Pending further sorties by Wilson or his forces, the WPB's balance of power, for all practical purposes, still rests in the industry-controlled Industry Branches, decentralized to the point of disintegration.

As for the balance among various programs in the general plan, the situation is, if anything, worse. Key agencies still make fundamental policy decisions without reference to one another, in spite of the fact that each recognizes its interdependence and interrelationship with the others. There is still nothing resembling an over-all program or policy committee. Presumably, the Office of Economic Stabilization was set up to fill this gap. It has not done so. Why, is not altogether clear, but probably the main reason is the inadequacy of its director, James F. Byrnes, in grasping the problems he is called upon to handle, and in working out the proper solutions in the allotted time. Byrnes came to his new job with a presidential blank check for whatever powers he needed to "stabilize" the war program, with a great deal of practical knowledge of how to get along with Congress and, among others things, with the blessing of his fellow South Carolinian, Bernard Baruch.

Stabilizing our war economy remains a tough job. While Byrnes has not been loafing, his conception of what is to be done is so limited as to presage failure. He thinks that the way to iron out kinks in the production line is by providing proper appeals machinery through his office. In other words, you let things go along as far as they can without controversy; then you call in the Byrnes Office to look things over and deliver an "umpire's" decision as to which side of the conflict is right. Byrnes works up toward the resolution of controversies rather than down toward the realization of specific program objectives through specific, planned methods. Apart from its general methods, Byrnes's office is apparently guilty of sidestepping its recent obligations in connection with the President's "hold-the-line" order. Instead of facing up to its obligation to alter relative prices and wages, as provided under the order to "maintain and increase production," the Stabilization Director made no move which showed that he even understood that wage and price policies have a good deal to do with the mobilization of production facilities and manpower.

Clearly, the Office of Economic Stabilization is only a poor substitute for centralized control of the war-production program as a whole. Byrnes restored the War Labor Board's powers last week under the influence of politics and the exertion of superior pressures, rather than through comprehension of the need for a flexible wage and price policy. Byrnes is not cut from a large enough pattern to realize this problem as a whole.

Still perhaps the biggest gap in the mobilization of war production is the absence of real labor representation at the crucial production points where it could count heavily. The proposed appointment of two new labor vice-chairmen to the WPB will have meaning

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only if that move is accompanied by corresponding appointments up and down the war-production line, in Washington and elsewhere. Adequate labor participation plus the second essential, "direction"—the whole problem of careful scheduling and utilization—are the two most important problems that stand between the present situation and full mobilization for war.

Surely it is fair to say that until we work out some over-all plan for balancing all the parts of the war-production program, we shall continue to fall short of our war-production goals and shall continue to create conditions for even further and more disastrous cutbacks in essential war goods.

Washington HELEN FULLER

About-Face to Freedom

THE OUTRIGHT ABOUT-FACE of the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of city ordinances under which members of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect were convicted for distributing religious literature without a license is one of the most notable acts in the entire span of 154 years of Supreme Court history—since Mr. Chief Justice Jay first met with the five Associate Justices appointed by George Washington. It is notable for what was done and for how it was done.

This generation has seen no comparable reversal. Last June 8 the court, in Jones v. Opelika and associated cases from municipalities in Alabama, Arkansas and Arizona, declared that the application of these licensing ordinances to door-to-door distributors of such printed matter was no violation of the First Amendment. Less than eleven months later, May 3, 1943, the same court, with only one change in personnel, vacates its decision in Opelika and says that this application of these ordinances violates the religious-freedom guarantee of the Bill of Rights.

Even the historic switch of the court on state minimum-wage laws in the midst of the battle over the President's ill starred Supreme Court enlargement bill is not comparable. That change came in shorter time, to be sure; on June 1, 1936, the court by a vote of five to four killed the New York statute, and on March 29, 1937, it sustained the statute of the State of Washington, by the same vote. But there were differences in the two state laws and the majority opinion of Mr. Chief Justice Hughes in the Washington case was so written as to make it possible for Mr. Justice Roberts, the migrating jurist, to change camps without so confessing.

Legal scholars and the historians of the Supreme Court will please check my layman's information on this, but I can think of no reversal which provides what we may call a parallel (and here there are differences of course) since the court first declared the Legal Tender Act of 1862 unconstitutional in Hepburn v. Griswold (1870) and then, after the seating of Mr. Justice Strong and Mr. Justice Bradley, ordered and heard rearguments, and declared the same law constitutional in Knox v. Lee (1871).

So much for the fact of the reversal in Opelika. The way in which it was achieved is hardly less notable than the reversal itself. The majority last June consisted of Mr. Justice Reed, who gave the opinion, and Justices Roberts, Frankfurter, Byrnes and Jackson. The dissenters were Mr. Chief Justice Stone and the three Justices who took the occasion to clear their consciences of their support of the 1940 compulsory-flag-salute decision—Black, Douglas and Murphy.

When Mr. Justice Byrnes resigned last fall to become Economic Stabilization Director, the two sides were left evenly divided, four to four. That is one reason why there was such contention behind the scenes as to his successor. Nor was that interest misplaced. By the vote of the successor, Mr. Justice Rutledge, and by that alone, on the side of the minority of last June, is Opelika wiped from the list of the court's controlling precedents.

The point is worth underscoring. There has been no intervening act of Congress or of any lesser legislative body. There has been no presidential recommendation or appeal by a group of Governors. There has been only the essential accident of Mr. Roosevelt's draft of Mr. Justice Byrnes from the Opelika majority instead of a draft of Mr. Justice Douglas from the minority. For had Mr. Justice Douglas been appointed to the post of Economic Stabilizer, the vote of Mr. Justice Rutledge would have done no more than maintain the old minority and Opelika would still be the law of the land. On so slight a thread did this weighty issue hang!

Now as to how the reversal was presented to the country by the black-robed jurists on May 3. Here surely a layman should not rush in where lawyers fear to tread. For soon after their arrival I showed the proof sheets of the ten separate opinions, running to some seventy pages, to an able Harvard Law School graduate, who has made a study of civil-rights cases; he looked them over and then threw up his hands in unconditional surrender.

But it is the layman's Supreme Court as well as the lawyer's, so one who sits outside the railing may say how the pieces of the puzzle seem to fit best when seen by his non-legal eye.

The reversal of Opelika appears in a twelve-line *per curiam*, which becomes the order of the court without the faintest suggestion of the pitched battles waged

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first in conference and later in the subsequent printed opinions. Opelika is then actually reversed in eight merged cases, which may be called after the first one, Murdock v. Jeannette (Pennsylvania). Remembering "that the pamphlets of Thomas Paine were not distributed free of charge," Mr. Justice Douglas, speaking for the majority, says that the court, now "freed" from Opelika, "can restore to their high, constitutional position the liberties of itinerant evangelists who disseminate their religious beliefs and the tenets of their faith through distribution of literature."

From this Mr. Justice Reed dissents sharply. Far from finding the majority view on the side of religious freedom, he sees in it the imposition of a tax subsidy, "notwithstanding our accepted beliefs in the separation of church and state," since "this court now fastens upon the communities the entire cost of policing the sales of religious literature."

Nor does he nor do Mr. Justice Roberts, Mr. Justice Frankfurter and Mr. Justice Jackson, who join him, regard "these sales of religious books" as "religious exercises." They draw a line between the "spiritual rites which are protected by the First Amendment—prayer, mass, sermons, sacrament," on the one hand, and "sales of religious goods," on the other. When "the evangelist becomes a book agent" then is "the sacred character of the transaction" destroyed, they say. In conclusion, the minority laments the establishment of "an unfortunate principle of tax exemption, capable of indefinite extension," not found "in the language of the First and Fourteenth Amendments."

In his additional dissent, Mr. Justice Frankfurter contends that the right of a city "to control the expression of men's minds and the right of men to win others to their views" is not at stake. "The court is not divided on this proposition," he says, because "no one disputes it." He continues:

> All members of the court are equally familiar with the history that led to the adoption of the Bill of Rights and are equally zealous to enforce the constitutional protection of the free play of the human spirit. Escape from the real issue before us cannot be found in such generalities. The real issue here is not whether a city may charge for the dissemination of ideas but whether the states have power to require those who need additional facilities to help bear the cost of furnishing such facilities.

The next decision, Douglas v. Jeannette, handed down by Mr. Chief Justice Stone, finds no necessity or appropriateness, after the Murdock ruling, for a federal injunction to secure the constitutional rights of the petitioning Jehovah's Witnesses. It is interesting chiefly for the opinion which it provokes from Mr. Justice Jackson, joined by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, which is, to say the least, an unusual document.

The former Attorney General gives first a detailed description of the invasion of Jeannette on Palm Sunday, 1939, by more than a hundred Jehovah's Witnesses for a doorbell-ringing campaign, the complaints, the arrests, the violently anti-Catholic character of the literature with generous quotations, the commercial aspects of the enterprise, etc. Then Mr. Justice Jackson begins to swing freely at the majority. Here are samples:

> The court fails to deal with the behavior of the Witnesses on its own merits. . . . If we should strip these cases to the underlying questions, I find them too difficult as constitutional problems to be disposed of by vague but fervent transcendentalism. . . . To put them [worship in the churches and evangelism by the Witnesses] on the same constitutional plane seems to me to have a dangerous tendency towards discrediting religious freedom. . . . This court is forever adding new stories to the temples of constitutional law, and the temples have a way of collapsing when one story too many is added. So it was with liberty of contract, which was discredited by being overdone. The court is adding a new privilege to override the rights of others to what has before been regarded as religious liberty. . . . Civil liberties had their origin and must find their ultimate guarantee in the faith of the people. If that faith should be lost, five or nine men in Washington could not long supply its want. . . . Forthright observance of rights presupposes their forthright definition. I think that the majority has failed in this duty.

This leaves the case of Martin v. Struthers (Ohio). Here the new five-judge majority finds unconstitutional an ordinance which prohibits the distribution of "handbills, circulars or other advertisements" by door-to-door canvassing. There are four opinions and quotations are again in order.

Mr. Justice Black (for the majority):

> Many of our most widely established religious organizations have used this method of disseminating their doctrines, and laboring groups have used it in recruiting their members. The federal government, in its current war-bond-selling campaign, encourages groups of citizens to distribute advertisements and circulars from house to house. . . . The circulation of nominating papers would be greatly handicapped if they could not be taken to the citizens in their homes. Door-to-door distribution of circulars is essential to the poorly financed causes of little people. . . . Stringent prohibition can serve no purpose but that forbidden by the Constitution, the naked restriction of the dissemination of ideas.

Mr. Justice Murphy (concurring, with the support of Douglas and Rutledge):

> Prohibition may be more convenient to the law maker, and easier to fashion than a regulatory measure which adequately protects the peace and privacy of the home without suppressing legitimate religious activities. . . . Freedom of religion has a higher dignity under the Constitution than municipal or personal convenience. In these days men have no loftier responsibility than the preservation of that freedom.

Mr. Justice Reed (dissenting, with the support of Roberts and Jackson):

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While I appreciate the necessity of watchfulness to avoid abridgments of our freedom of expression, it is impossible for me to discover in this trivial town-police regulation a violation of the First Amendment. No ideas are being suppressed. No censorship is involved. . . . Once the door is opened, the visitor may not insert a foot and insist on a hearing. He certainly may not enter the home. To knock or ring, however, comes close to such invasions. . . . The ordinance seems a fair adjustment of the privilege of distributors and the rights of householders.

Mr. Justice Frankfurter:

Neither the First nor the Fourteenth Amendment is to be treated by judges as though it were a mathematical abstraction, an absolute having no relation to the lives of men. . . . The lack of privacy and the hazards to peace of mind and body caused by people living not in individual houses but crowded together in large human beehives, as they so widely do, are facts of modern living which cannot be ignored. . . . We should not, however unwittingly, slip into the judgment seat of legislatures. . . . The decision leaves untouched what are in my view controlling constitutional principles, if I am correct in my understanding of what is held.

This extracting does admitted violence to the sizable volume of opinions at hand and my recommendation to those who are interested is that they read them in full in a law office or law library. But such sampling is the only way I know to show in the space available how hard fought this battle is; how violently the Justices appointed by the same President, representing the same general point of view in government, can disagree; the lengths to which they will go to press their views and to justify and protect their positions. If it is an exercise in judicial operation, it is also a study in human personality. No wonder the flag-salute case, which presents the issue of individual freedom of worship much more clearly, did not come down the same Monday!

And now we are back where we started. For when we have read through to the last word of the last opinion in the last case, Opelika still is vacated and the precedent of eleven months ago is overturned. One more short quotation, therefore, is appropriate. It comes from a recent opinion of the Florida Supreme Court, in reversing itself on certain tax exemptions. Said the supreme judges at Tallahassee:

It is better to eat crow than to perpetuate an error. The crow is not rationed and the approval of conscience will more than compensate for the eating.

IRVING DILLIARD

The Case for the Coal Miners[1]

THE SPECIFIC DEMANDS of the workers v. the owners and operators in the coal fields were early forgotten for the larger terms with which the "strike" of May 1 was approached. Press and public opinion swung around other issues, not around the immediate working demands of either party to the dispute. Analyses of the propaganda and official actions which were taken in the case, and a brief exploration of some of the larger implications of the coal crisis, reveal trends in the relations among business, the present government and labor; more particularly, they reveal assumptions which have guided the labor and inflation policies of the present administration. By going beneath certain irrelevancies of public statement the actual problems may be clarified.

The government's handling of the controversy made it appear that the strike was a direct conflict between the union and the government, for which the miners were entirely to blame. This proceeds from the basic assumption that the interests of the nation are to be identified with the contentions of the mine operators. But these two contentions are points at issue, and hence cannot be assumed. Yet the press and the government consistently made both assumptions: the miners were blamed, and the operators were favored with the imputed position of upholding the wartime interests of the country as a whole.

By official statements and press editorializing, the entire crisis and its issues were heavily personalized. It was made to appear that "Lewis" was opposing "the United States Government" and then, that it was a case of "Lewis v. Roosevelt." This must be interpreted as an attempt to split the union from its leadership and to break Lewis' power with labor. Such issues as the coal crisis cannot be understood as the personal antagonisms of two heroes.

But the most effective strategy by means of which the specific working issues were bypassed and opinion swayed was the identifying of government and business with the "prosecution of the war" and Lewis with the "holding up of the war." These identifications rested upon the *alleged* consequences of the strike upon war production, and the assertion that the strike was *due entirely* to Lewis. Only if those two assertions are true do the loud blasts about "treason" become relevant and just. As to the first assumption, no definitive figures were given; however, on the Tuesday after the truce, the New York Times financial page cited "competent steel men" as saying that there were enough coke and coal supplies for "ten days to two weeeks"; "it there-

[1] Comment on this article appears in the editorial section. – THE EDITORS

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fore would be some time before a slowing up in pig-iron production resulting from a coke shortage would be reflected in a lag in steel production." Any stoppage or threat of stoppage in wartime is serious; but in this case the public hysteria was apparently a good deal more violent than the facts justified. Turn now to the second, more important, assumption, which anchors the flat assertion that "Lewis held up the war effort," namely, that he was responsible for the strike. There is no argument about not wanting strikes during war, nor that they are bad for everyone concerned; there is argument over who is responsible for given strikes.

We are not entitled to believe that either party to the controversy deliberately wanted a strike if it could get its demands without one. And, in any case of this sort, we are not entitled, in the absence of specific evidence to the contrary, to expect that "blame" for the strike can be laid wholly upon one side of the controversy. But this is general; that is, it must be relied upon in the absence of specific information. And there is specific information available.

Before the strike broke out, Dr. John R. Steelman, a government mediator, had proposed a basis for negotiation, and a solution, which the miners accepted and the owners turned down. The owners' acceptance of Dr. Steelman's proposal would have obviated the strike. The owners, it is reported, on this point "rejected all proposals and offered no counter-proposals of their own." On this point alone, therefore, and particularly since it now seems that Steelman's suggestion may be the basis for final solution, it is plain that the strike cannot be laid entirely upon the workers in the pit, nor upon their representatives.

Beyond this specific item is the fact that the operators have not shown a willingness to bargain. By constantly insisting upon referral of the case to the WLB, the operators in effect denied to the miners the democratic right to collective bargaining. This is but one step in a larger national trend. For it has now been made public that "only 1.4 out of every 100 cases of wage adjustments made by the board have been made in dispute cases where the initiative came from the workers." This fact also seems to indicate that business at least has thought that it could gain more and lose less under the administration's labor policies and impartial agencies than by the democratic processes of collective bargaining. There is some reason to suppose that a coal agreement and not a strike might have been reached *if* the operators had entered collective bargaining with a will to settle concrete issues. At any rate, because of the operators, collective bargaining was not seriously tried.

It is also plain that such grip and persuasion as Lewis' contentions have had, and do now have, rest on the fact that as far as the coal miners are concerned, increases in prices for relevant commodities exceed wage rises. Had the administration been able to keep prices in hand or had it taken immediate steps for firmer price control, the ground would have been jerked from under Lewis' position. And if we say that the "administration" could not accomplish this because of business pressure and the farm bloc, then, still, principal responsibility for the events which climaxed in the strike definitely cannot be placed upon the miners.

The popular tendency to substitute blame for analysis, shared by the government and the press, has obscured perhaps the most important implications of the strike. The extent to which the coal miners' fight represents the interests of other groups, particularly low-income consumers and the rest of labor, has been entirely overlooked. But Lewis' "truculence" has materially aided at least the immediate fight against rising prices. Since Henderson was forced out, the OPA has increasingly shown itself to be a mere chameleon changing with the strongest pressures. The chief pressures which moved Prentiss Brown, before Lewis, were: big business, via his staff, etc., and big farmers, via the congressional farm bloc. Other labor leaders squawked about rising prices; Lewis' action got results from the responsive Mr. Brown, via presidential orders. "Out-of-hand" prices, it was promised, would be rolled back, important commodities ceilinged. In so far as these promises are realized (and apparently a 10-percent rollback in the prices of meat, coffee, butter and other foods will be effected through subsidies), housewives should thank half a million dirty-faced miners and their leaders, who opposed the interests moving Brown.

If Lewis and labor are strong enough and intelligent enough to develop a real policy on this matter, they can stop the inflationary spiral. I don't know what other power groups are in a position to do this. It takes not only a rise in wages but a rise in prices and a rise in profits to cause an all-out inflationary spiral. Given the distribution of income,[1] prices and profits rather than wages might well be used in stopping the spiral of inflation. Whatever their political atmosphere, Lewis' demands and his views on inflation are squarely based upon comparisons of wages, profits, prices and the differential effects of taxation and other government policies upon wage earners and profit-takers.[2] The issue is not so much: Is Lewis an inflationary threat? as, What are the merits of various inflation-control policies? Thus far there has been a network of compromises on a case-to-case expediency. When expediency is the "policy," the contingencies of power will determine the drift of practical decisions. It is extremely short-sighted to single out merely labor

[1] The OPA recently published, but made no effort to circulate, a study, "Civilian Spending and Saving, 1941 and 1942," which shows that almost 25 percent of the population last year earned less than $1,000, and went into further debt. Seven and nine-tenths percent earned $5,000 or more, and saved $14,000,000. The New Leader of May 1, 1943, dug up the study and summarized its findings.

[2] See his testimony before the Truman Committee Hearing, March 24-28, 1943: "Labor" (U. S. Government Printing Office).

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or Lewis or wage demands as the most important threat of inflation. The man immediately to blame, if the issue must be personalized, is Prentiss Brown, in so far as he sits at the point of all the pressures and has not resigned in protest. The justice of the Little Steel formula plainly rested upon the assumption that the other elements in the anti-inflation program—profits, high salaries and especially prices—would be stabilized. They have not been. And wages have been the least flexible curve in the inflationary spiral. By his show of power, Lewis has definitely and justifiably aided the faction represented by labor's wages, which has been weakest and which, hence, has lost relatively most; and he has pushed most effectively for a total inflation control, one that would include prices and profits and high salaries as well as wages.

Has the miners' political strategy improved the position of "labor"? Lewis' is the only big union which has remained "outside the government" and hence retained relatively more of the autonomous power of labor. He has "stirred up" the rank and file and the leadership of other unions. However, as shown by the reactions of Green and Murray, what other leaders will try to do is benefit by such economic gains for labor as Lewis may win, without having to stick out their own political and personal necks. If they succeed in this policy, such ill effects from public opinion and the administration as may befall Lewis may bypass them. And labor will gain economic benefits from Lewis' action. The danger of their policy for these other leaders will come out at the grass roots of the labor movement, in organizing the rank and file.

Lewis did not "demand special treatment for himself" or even for his union; a more relevant way of stating the situation is that he happened to be the man who effectively challenged the rule of the Little Steel policy for wages. When the President asserted that the WLB would settle the issue "fairly and in accordance with the . . . procedure and law applicable to all labor disputes," he simply begged labor's point at issue: "the procedure and law" as they stood, which meant the Little Steel formula. All labor has been indignant over the WLB's vulgar-pragmatic, common-law approach and its use of a "formula" on a pudding already badly mixed. But it did not get beyond ineffectual indignation. Lewis did. From a strictly unionist and non-political viewpoint, labor must be grateful to Lewis for effectively raising hell with the administrative machinery. Lewis' strategy made the WLB request of the President a "clarification" of his "hold the line" order and refuse to hear "equity" cases until he did. In thus asking for more judicial authority, the board itself has admitted the justice of Lewis' claim that it was not an impartial tribunal able to seek "equity." Plainly: it took action like Lewis' to break the squeeze upon labor's (and the consumer's) economic position due to ineffective price control, rising prices already too high, and arbitrary wage setting.

Beyond this immediate and economic question, however, it is proper to ask for the political implications: will his action in the long run hurt labor by estranging "public opinion" and alienating labor from the "New Deal"? The answer to these questions depends upon your opinion of the present condition and future prospects of the New Deal, whatever that is in 1943. From the WPA to the WPB is not such a long jump as many have assumed, nor so illogical a one. The official action in the coal crisis should make those who do not see this look again. The answer to the question concerning public opinion calls for the institution of an effective public-relations system among trade unions, and, more crucially, involves the future political situation in its entirety. How you answer them both will depend upon your basic political position and the place of labor, and Lewis, within it.

But that Lewis may represent a Republican labor bloc for 1944 need not necessarily be a ground for fighting him on this present issue. In any event, his politics need not be fought in such a way as to support, by implication or statement, the administration's vacillating labor and inflation policies.

When is the personal character of a leader relevant to decisions on immediate issues to which he is a party? When it is a major factor in determining his probable future positions. Otherwise, support the issue, not the man. When your estimate of the man is that he's generally "opportunistic," then estimates of the man are less important than expectations of the contingencies of future power struggles in which he will be involved, for "they" rather than "he" will be more important in determining the positions he will take. This is the case with John L. Lewis.

There is an "optimistic" and "progressive" way of resolving the contradiction of a politically dangerous man who also happens to be one of the most tenacious and successful fighters among all trade-union leaders: Use him as a lever to force the administration to set forth and to realize policies which would outbid Lewis for labor support! This will not be done. The present administration probably couldn't do it if it wanted to; other labor-union blocs, which might do it if they really wanted to, won't because of their very character as organizations and the limited political mentality of their leadership. Ideally, that is, in the long run, there is one way out of the present political situation and the bleak political future for those who believe intelligently in democracy. It is the formation of an independent labor party which could perhaps gain strength by at first skillfully playing the role of the mugwump. This could not come into being on the basis of the present labor unions. Indeed, it won't come into being at all in the foreseeable future.

It ought, then, to be remembered that all realistic

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political appraisal is comparative and that those who love the ideal too much may end up whispering it to themselves instead of living in it. The affair of the miners was not handled any more intelligently by progressives than by reactionaries; and it was handled least intelligently by the administration. This is the disheartening threat in the coal crisis.

C. WRIGHT MILLS

End Exclusion Now

IMAGINE, IF YOU CAN, that we had a law which prohibited Australians from coming to the United States. Suppose another law decreed that those already here could not under any circumstances become American citizens because Australians are "unassimilable," and that on this ground several of our states had adopted laws forbidding Australians to marry into American families, to engage in certain occupations and to own land. This combination of devices to brand Australians as an inferior people would not exactly make General MacArthur's task in Australia an easy one. But that is the psychological setting within which, very shortly, some American general will have to establish headquarters in India for the push through Burma. Multiply a hundredfold the feelings which you would expect Australians to have toward us under the assumed circumstances, and you have the reactions which are to be expected from Indians when we shall need the utmost help from them.

The same applies to the one hundred and fifty million people of Southeast Asia without whose active assistance it would certainly be a colossal job to roll back the enemy. Among them are the seventeen million Filipinos, now excluded from the continental United States under Section 8 of the Commonwealth and Independence Law and branded with the rest as permanently inadmissible when independence goes into effect. As might be expected, the Japanese propaganda machine has not been idle. We know from our radio observation posts that whenever the day's news contains little that can be twisted to inflame the Malay or Indonesian people, or the Burmans and Thais against the United Nations, some Japanese commentator is sure to pull out the file marked "American immigration and naturalization law" and hammer away at the incongruity of a fight for world democracy conducted by a nation that divides the world's population into superior and inferior branches of the human family.

And what about China? Madame Chiang Kai-shek has made a tremendous impression upon the people of the United States—not only by the substance of her addresses, the charm of her Southern accent and the grace of her personality, but also, and perhaps especially, by the tact with which she left some uncomfortable truths unsaid. Congressmen of all shades of political opinion are conscious as never before of the contrast between our immigration laws and the closeness of our ties with China. It simply will not do, now that extraterritoriality has been abolished, and with it our other special privileges in China which hurt the pride of that country, to continue the even more serious affront contained in our own domestic legislation.

Half a dozen bills to rectify our unjust exclusion laws are being drafted and discussed. One of them, report has it, contains the bare minimum of a gesture in the direction of eliminating the last point of friction between the United States and China: it merely rescinds the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 and leaves everything else unchanged. If nothing more were done, China would still be discriminated against under a number of subsequent enactments and administrative definitions. With the 1882 law there would have to go, for example, the Act of 1893 in which the words, "Chinese laborers," were reinterpreted as including also skilled workers and self-employing artisans and tradesmen. The effect of court decisions which made gambling, running a restaurant or lodging house, clerical employment, domestic service and prostitution all "laboring" occupations, would also have to be removed. By 1898 the attempt to classify all undesired Chinese —and that meant almost all Chinese—as laborers had become so ludicrous that it was given up and instead, contrary to explicit provisions in our treaty obligations to China, a few classes were designated whose members might visit the United States if not disqualified on other grounds. They were officials, teachers, students, merchants and tourists. Since then, teachers and students have had to face new obstacles in applying for American visas.

The Immigration Act of 1917 introduced the "barred zone" of southern Asia and the adjacent island archipelagos, so that all Indians, Malays and Indonesians, and with them also Chinese from a considerable area in southwestern China that happens to lie within the arbitrarily fixed zone, were excluded from the United States. In short, if all specifically Chinese exclusion provisions were rescinded and the law of 1917 remained in force, we would still be in the position of discriminating between some Chinese and others on purely geographical grounds—which is, manifestly, an administrative impossibility.

The admission of Chinese to American citizenship has been barred—and this, also, contrary to a provision of the so-called Burlingame Treaty of 1880, between the United States and China, which recognized "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home

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and allegiance." Finally, the immigration law of 1924, under section 13 (c), provided that "no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien is admissible as a non-quota immigrant," and this of course confirms all the previous enactments for the exclusion of the Chinese along with that of the Japanese and of persons from the barred zone of southern Asia, Malaysia and Oceania. In short, if all anti-Chinese legislation were removed from our federal statutes, Chinese long resident in this country would still be unable to acquire citizenship through the process of naturalization—and this is, perhaps, the greatest of all the insults to the sensibilities of our ally.

The legal status of Oriental Americans, as our recent experience with Japanese Americans has shown, is complicated by court decisions and administrative actions the strict legality of which is still in doubt. However, recent educational activity in every part of the United States has just been effective enough to make most people realize the absurdity of branding whole nations and races as unassimilable. In so far as our immigration law is intended to keep out undesirable aliens, most people will wish to see it remain intact. But only the most ignorant will contend that it is race or country of origin as such that makes a person undesirable. No doubt, there will be little argument over the inexpediency of admitting the nationals of countries with which we are at war—not only during the war, when their exclusion is automatic, but perhaps also for a limited period after the war, when hatreds are still running high and the chances of a harmonious assimilation of these groups are poor. But that kind of exclusion has nothing to do with color or blood, and expresses no racial discrimination.

There is, then, a strong case for removing from our statute books not only the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882, but all legal provisions by which any racial group as such, or the inhabitants of any geographical zone as such, are marked out for distinct treatment in the matter of either immigration or naturalization. Placed under the quota provisions of the 1924 immigration law, the peoples thus relieved from the unjust hardships resulting from our biological illiteracy would still be virtually excluded if they wanted to come to the United States as laborers; but they would no longer be singled out for ignominy.

The provisions of the quota law in general are most imperfect, even from the standpoint of the labor competition it was instituted to prevent. Changes in the world population after the war will bring additional reasons for the amendment of the quota law—even perhaps to strengthen, rather than weaken, the bars against labor immigration seeking permanent residence and the right to naturalization. But this is not the time to consider these changes; nor is there any hurry in this respect because, during the war, the government has enough legal power to prevent any rush of immigrants that might conceivably develop, and it may be counted upon to use such powers in conformity with the prevailing sentiment against large-scale immigration.

What is needed now, and immediately, is a relatively simple law, declaring null and void anything in our immigration and naturalization laws that contains an element of discrimination against members of any race or nationality, and against persons originating in a given geographical area, irrespective of their national affiliation. The status of the Japanese and of Japanese Americans would not be affected by such a law. But its favorable effect on our military coöperation with the colored peoples of the world can hardly be exaggerated. At least, so we may conclude from the observations of many Americans recently returned from India, China, Australia, Africa and, not least, Latin America. Nothing but a gesture? True. But this is a war in which gestures of democratic intent will save lives and speed victory.

BRUNO LASKER

Who'll Kill the Beveridge Bill?

Who'll kill the Bill?
"I," said the die-hard,
"At least I shall try hard,
I'll kill the Bill."

Who'll dig its grave?
"I," said Kingsley Wood,
"When the cost is reviewed,
I'll dig its grave."

Who'll bring a pike?
"I," said Lord Croft,
"It will make Britons soft,
I'll bring a pike."

Who'll have its blood?
"I with my knife,"
Said Industrial Life,
"I'll have its blood."

Who'll do the post-mortem?
"I," said The Lancet,
"Our doctors won't chance it,
I'll do the post-mortem."

Who'll sing a psalm?
"I," said the City,
"With my finance committee,
I'll sing a psalm."

Who'll be chief mourners?
"We independents
Who put down amendments.
We'll be chief mourners."

All the workers of Britain
Fell a-sobbing and a-sighing,
When they heard that the Beveridge Bill was dying,
When they heard that the Beveridge Bill was dying.

ROGER SERVICE in The London Tribune

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Washington Notes

Scandal in the House

THE MEN who really run the House are a little group in the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee decides what legislation shall be brought to the floor and when. Organically, it is the pituitary gland of the House. The Rules Committee group is the most powerful in the chamber. And it is almost wholly reactionary.

Around one of its members a scandal is forming. He is Eugene E. Cox of Georgia, a poll-tax bourbon. The FCC gave the Justice Department, last year, evidence indicating that Mr. Cox received $2,500 from the Albany (Ga.) Broadcasting Company, WALB, "in payment of legal expenses." If Mr. Cox abused his congressional position to receive pay for private services before a federal agency, as charged, he is liable to a $10,000 fine, two years in prison, or both. It is a serious matter. But it is less serious than another phase of the scandal now blowing up, a scandal that affects not Cox but the whole House.

Remember Cox's key position. His Rules Committee clique includes men like Howard W. Smith of Virginia, Martin Dies of Texas, Hamilton Fish of New York. Cox is said to be the man who first put Dies up to witch-hunting. This Rules Committee group has one thing in common, hatred of the New Deal. Because of its power, other members of Congress must conciliate it. It is necessary to understand that for what follows:

Eugene Cox is a pine-slash Ham Fish, a Ham Fish without Harvard. He has been in Congress twenty years and can remain as long as he has strength to wave the bloody shirt. He is a Democratic Clare Hoffman, a creature of prejudice and emotion, who sobs at his own words. But Gene really isn't very smart, and now he has stuck his neck out. This is pretty embarrassing to all the others. To let Gene down is to let themselves down. The story is that high Democratic members, not far removed from the Speaker himself, went to the Attorney General and told him that if he would suppress the FCC charges, Gene would behave. They would see that Gene kept his mouth shut and made no more inflammatory speeches.

The FCC charges went to Biddle a year ago last March. Nothing has been done. The delay has reached the point where newspapermen bluntly asked President Roosevelt last Friday if he could explain the failure to act, and when he said No, asked him pointedly if he had any personal objections to seeing the charges pressed. Mr. Roosevelt squirmed a little. The answer was noncommittal. But Mr. Biddle might take warning. When newspapermen begin throwing questions like that at the President, it is high time to take notice.

Yet what I have said so far is only a side issue to what is coming. When the FCC started its Cox investigation, Cox pressed his own investigation of the FCC. On his motion the House set up a special committee to investigate the FCC. And here is the extraordinary thing. Speaker Rayburn named Gene Cox, the man under inquiry, to be its head.

So far as I know, this is unique. Even in the heyday of General Grant, when Washington ethical standards are said to have been as low as they ever got, nothing like this was done. One rubs one's eyes trying to believe that the House would countenance the thing.

In a sense it is very silly of the House, which is sensitive to criticism. It cringed under the "X"-card attack; it remembers the licking it got when it tried to vote itself pensions. But now, inevitably, this new situation is blowing up, bigger and bigger. One of the reasons it is blowing up is because of Cox's methods, and another is because of a quiet, unassuming man named Clifford J. Durr.

Durr is one of the FCC commissioners, and the FCC is about the only agency left in Washington that still shows fight under congressional attacks. Durr is about forty-three, a brother-in-law of Mr. Justice Black, Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Alabama, a Rhodes Scholar, an Oxford law don, a man who prefers $10,000 and freedom, working for the government, to a lot of the things he would have to do, for a great deal more money, as a corporation lawyer. (There are a good many men like that in Washington.) He is a modest, upright, rather shy man, and he believes in, and wants to respect, Congress.

How Cox uses Congress is disclosed in Durr's open letter last week to Speaker Rayburn. The Cox five-man committee really is a Cox personal vehicle, like the Dies Committee. It never meets. Its counsel, Eugene L. Garey, summoned an FCC employee, demanded that he testify under oath, in secret, with no member of the Cox Committee present, and added that he would not be given a transcript of testimony. When he refused, Garey subpoenaed him. Of the committee Cox alone appeared, and the same closed-hearing procedure was followed, with a second denial of the transcript record. This raises an issue "even more fundamental than the procedure previously adopted," Durr says. He has put this matter squarely in the lap of Congress. No editorial writer in America who professes to care about the separation of powers can ignore it and keep his integrity. It is not Cox, but Congress, which is sticking its neck out in this business.

Tied in to this general situation is the congressional attack on the militant FCC from another direction. Three FCC employees were listed by Gene's friend, Martin Dies, as "subversives." The Kerr review committee exonerated one of them, Dr. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College, very much to his disgust. As somebody said, when he issued a protest, he was not going to take such an exoneration lying down!

The FCC refuses to fire the other two, Drs. Goodwin Watson (one of the charges against whom is that he is a director of Consumers' Union) and William E. Dodd Jr. By attaching what the indignant Washington Post calls "bills of attainder" to an appropriations bill, the House hopes to get rid of Watson, Dodd and Robert Morss Lovett (another on the attainder list, one of whose crimes is his connection with The New Republic).

It is doubtful whether the Senate will accede to this dangerous procedure. It goes to the very heart of the constitutional theory of separation of powers—goes to the heart and drives a knife into it. If Congress can fire government employees by cutting off their funds, it can lop off a Supreme Court Justice too—or a President.

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One grim note in the affair is the dissatisfaction of the Dies Committee with the Kerr Committee. The latter has cleared 50 percent of the Dies "subversives" so far. Yet Dies has a very simple remedy. Let him put a rider on the next appropriations bill cutting off Kerr's congressional salary. It would be just as constitutional as what the House is trying to do Watson, Dodd, Lovett, *et al.*

Washington T. R. B.

Less Talk and More Mail

THE REMARKABLE FACT that the English are making better films than anyone else is the result of their movie makers' faith in the ordinary—ordinary behavior, ordinary people and small talk. It is true that the English scrape no further below the surface than other people who make movies, but they are the only ones who consistently show the surface the way it really is. Whatever they achieve in movie effects comes from their acute perception of the walk, look and manner of speech of their characters. The action of their plots is always within the possibilities of the characters they create. The first Hitchcock pictures capitalized superbly on the willingness of an audience to accept the fact that horror can be latent in an ordinary situation. In an English film the psychological factors are made visual, and to do this and keep the audience from snickering at the far-fetched, the characters and environment of the movie have to be honestly handled.

Two of their latest pictures, "Next of Kin" and "Letter from Ireland," trade on this attitude and owe their success to it. "Next of Kin" is a feature-length admonition against loose talk in wartime; "Letter from Ireland" is a twenty-minute glimpse of American soldiers in Ireland, a mild heartwarming for the folks back home.

"Next of Kin" impresses the whole weight of war on its audience by using inconsequential people and endowing them with the greatest responsibility for the prosecution of the war. A frightened soldier tells a burlesque performer where his division is training. An overworked, petulant, ordnance man bemoans the fact that so much is asked of him—for instance, that two divisions need outfitting, etc., etc. These details themselves are insignificant and unrelated, but the Germans put them together—a raid on the French coast is anticipated and half a division is lost. The important point is that these people do not realize the importance of the information they possess. The hard lesson is that a superhuman effort to be careful must be made by people who are overworked and overwrought; for the odds lie with the enemy. And the lesson is made grimly moving. The visual character of the people who count most in the picture is made depressingly real, their faces have a pinched quality, a lack of charm and humor; their deadly seriousness, combined with the knowledge of their responsibility for any number of lives far removed from them, makes you sense the extraordinary pressure under which they live.

This is purely an instruction film, but the intent is to present the case in its precise nature, no tin schoolroom form. Giving vital information is something you usually do unwittingly, and that is how this movie shows it is done. It is a small masterpiece of skillful education. It set out to turn war-poster reading into movie entertainment, and came out with a great deal more—a good picture of wartime England.

The twenty-minute letter from two American brothers stationed in Ireland to their parents could have been as distressing as one of Eddie Cantor's serious oratoricals on what you should do that people should love you. But the movie has been controlled to a sensible degree and is actually heartwarming. The idea is said to have been suggested by an actual incident, but it could have been figured out by anyone with a head on his shoulders. An officer in an artillery regiment notices that two boys haven't been getting any mail. He finds that the reason is they don't write any; so he makes them turn out some fifty pages, etc. To be exact, the boys write about Carrickfergus Castle, the printing shop of Thomas Gray and Son at Strabane, and a Catholic church in Londonderry. You don't learn much about castles, printing or the boys, and the war seems far away. But the movie achieves what it set out to achieve, a small human warmth: the dry, reticent humor of the Americans, their lack of interest in what they are visiting, their unhurried walk in an unhurried country. The effortless dialogue is the most commendable thing about it. The two heroes are Private Wally Newffield and Sergeant Don Prill, not brothers but both from Minneapolis.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

"Any law that holds people in bondage is bad and un-American. Yet the current income-tax law makes peons of all taxpayers, because it forces them to start each year in debt for previous year's income taxes," says Florida National Bank, of Jacksonville, Fla.—*An editorial in The Courier (Gunnison, Colorado).*

Studies show that truancy cases actually have decreased. Moreover, teachers have been able to spare the rod more often than ordinary this year. . . . While last year during the first nine weeks of the second semester 140 children felt the pangs of the paddle, only 139 have undergone the corporal chastisement during the current period.—*From The Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City.*

Hi Yah, Pal?

Asked yesterday to comment on the rejection [of Mark Starr as director of adult education in city schools] Mr. LaGuardia said: "I had a friendly little talk with Mr. Buck [president of the Board of Education] and he told me he would not resign. I told him that the first time I got a chance I would fire him."—*From The New York Herald Tribune.*

That All-Out Effort

The Marquess of Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, decreed today that the arrests of Mohandas K. Gandhi and other Indian political leaders should be considered valid, despite a court ruling that the ordinance under which they were arrested was invalid. . . . Today's ordinance stated that the new clause "shall be deemed always to have been substituted" for the invalidated decree.—*From The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

On the Fear of Russia

SIR: Sir Bernard Pares declares in his article "On the Fear of Russia" [The New Republic, April 19] that in Russia "What we used to describe as Bolshevism is dead as a doornail." Even so brief a historical sketch as his is sufficient to prove that while Russia's institutions are radically different from our own, they are also visibly neither communist nor messianic in the Leninist-Trotskyist sense. Sir Bernard, however, has written a bit of apologetics rather than history. Intent upon establishing Soviet "respectability," he has slurred over Stalinist violence and dictatorship and implied approval of Stalinist reaction in school and family and factory. . . .

There is nothing as appalling as a liberal turned realist. "No one will suggest that there were not numerous innocents who perished in Stalin's ruthless suppression of all opposition, but certainly there was organized and systematic wrecking." Only sentimentalists, it is implied, will weep for the innocent. The truth is that Russian political life is poisoned by the same habitual violence and intrigue that are killing Germany. In evaluating the Soviet Union as a factor for peace and democracy in the post-war world, that must be taken into account. Hitler's Russian disaster has proved that despite rule by terror and bureaucratic privilege, the Russians do have something, a planned economy. It has not proved that Stalin is a democrat. . . .

New York City B. E.

SIR: The best single article yet published in this country on Russia is the one by Sir Bernard Pares in your issue of April 19. . . . I was in Russia in 1936, and saw that Stalin was mechanizing Russian industry and agriculture at a very rapid tempo. . . . Later, in Norway, I met intelligent Germans who had been so quarantined and conditioned by Nazi propaganda that they simply would not believe me when I told them that the Russians were not starving, nor in rags, nor in a state of social disorder. There is an ominous lesson for us, with so many of us still in such a state of mental darkness and confusion that they still swallow Hitler's bait about Jewish-Bolshevistic barbarism in the USSR.

Worthington, O. J. A. LEIGHTON

SIR: In your article "On the Fear of Russia," by Sir Bernard Pares, I think that you have adequately answered the original premise, but the question is really not the fear of Russia, but the *fear of communism*, which I hold is not one and the same.

Essentially this is a war of ideas as well as of military power. You can get Stalin and the Bolsheviks and the Third International to repudiate world revolution and perhaps you can get them to sign pacts to that effect, but that will not alter the situation. Ideas cannot be legislated in or out of existence. The idea of communism cannot be confined within the walls of the Kremlin or the Soviet Union. . . . Upon the close of this war the reaction in Europe, with or without the consent of the Soviets, will be toward communism. . . .

Bela Kun in Hungary, the Spartacists and the Bavarian Peoples' Government in Germany and abortive communism in Northern Italy at the conclusion of the last war are but examples of the pattern to come upon the conclusion of this war. I think that Sir Bernard and others who are guided by him are kidding themselves along if they think that communism is a dead pigeon in Europe. . . . It is possible to whitewash Russia, as has Sir Bernard, but no amount of words can whitewash communism in the greater part of Europe.

Springfield, Mass. WILLIAM S. EVANS

SIR: On reading Sir Bernard Pares's splendid article on Russia, it occurred to me that many of our "liberals" and "socialists" could serve us better in the war against fascism if they took their cue from Pares.

What right have we, especially in the midst of the present crucial struggle, to play up every evil in Russia, to magnify them, publicize them and sow the seeds of distrust of the stanchest defender against the Fascist threat? Instead of playing Hitler's game, these righteous souls might well concentrate upon comparable evils in our own land. We, too, have democratic constitutions that are violated every day by our state or national governments. Poll-tax laws, Jim Crow laws, Ku Kluxers, lynchings, racial and religious persecution, labor baiting, slums, sweatshops, prostitution, graft, gangsters, poverty, squalor, profiteers and monopolists—all these are plentiful here. . . .

Surely, there is enough work here at home for our liberals. The Russian people will gradually take care of the evils within their own nation. . . . Let us put our own house in order and quit sniping at the nation which, despite its many handicaps, has made amazing progress in less than one generation.

Chicago, Ill. IRVING H. FLAMM

Catholics and Communists

SIR: Professor Ralph Barton Perry employs extraordinary devices to show that America and Soviet Russia have much in common [The New Republic, April 5]. He argues first that large majorities in both countries share certain fundamental beliefs. Both nations belong to the group of those who have faith in the ideal of human dignity. This group stands opposed to "the party of despair and abasement—of cruelty, tyranny, enslavement, exploitation, impiety, lawlessness, barbarism and obscurantism."

Of course we are opposed to these things. But so are our enemies. Do any of them pledge allegiance to "the party of cynicism, injustice and inhumanity"? On the contrary, they frequently condemn our democratic ways as fostering "lawlessness," "injustice" and "exploitation." *All* parties set themselves against these evils. Not all, however, are agreed as to when these evils are present. This is because not all are agreed as to their specific meaning. And this, in turn, derives from the fact that such disagreement exists over the concrete interpretation of ideals such as "human dignity" and "the fullest development of human faculties." Granted that the Russians as well as ourselves stand for "the removal of every form of humiliating dependence and subjection," do both peoples agree as to what types of dependence are in fact humiliating? To most Americans, dictatorial regimes, whether among enemies or allies, constitute a form of subjection incompatible with our own conception of human dignity. It is wholly abstract and unrealistic to suppose that grounds of agreement exist unless there is a sharing of concrete interpretations of high-sounding ideals.

The second device adopted by Professor Perry is to show that if the extreme Left in Russia can be reconciled with the extreme Right in America, the road to a common goal should be easy for the in-betweens. This device will arouse amazement and concern in many of Professor Perry's readers. For he assumes that American difficulty in finding common ground with

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Soviet Russia is accurately epitomized in the opposition between "the ardent devotees" of "Catholic Christendom on the one hand, and Marxian communism on the other." If these two extreme groups can be shown to share common ground, then there are no serious obstacles to American-Soviet friendship.

Does Professor Perry really believe this? Does he think that the ardent devotees of Catholic Christendom stand for the historic American ideal of the good life? Not in Italy, they don't; nor in Spain. Where, even in our own country, are the responsible spokesmen of Catholic Christendom who declare their belief in the ultimate authority of individual men to sanction freely every control to which they shall submit? Professor Perry speaks more truth than he seems to realize when he writes: "Metaphors aside, there is, I believe, a common social philosophy shared by Communists and Catholics. It is a social philosophy which concerns the organization of human beings on earth, and the principles on which their earthly institutions are founded." Catholicism and communism share the conviction that the proper form of society and the blueprint for the good life has been revealed. This being the case, they proclaim the freedom of the individual *up to the point where his own thought leads him to challenge the revelation.* In the last analysis, for both Catholicism and communism, the principles on which earthly institutions shall be founded cannot be criticized. This is the common ground of all *totalitarian* outlooks—Catholic, Communist, Nazi and the Cult of Emperor Worship. Therefore, it cannot furnish the basis of an agreement between Russians and Americans in their *opposition* to the common enemy.

There are many Americans who do not see this. They do not see the issue as between totalitarianism and freedom, but as an issue between abstract good and evil. For example, Professor Perry sees as good "the banishment of poverty, disease and ignorance." No sane man will disagree. But it is the *manner* of doing these good things that defines the way of freedom. Americans who do not see this, play into the hands of our enemies. For totalitarian states have not done so badly when it comes to improving the social welfare.

My criticism of Professor Perry's article has not been constructive. I offer nothing in place of his suggestions for a basis of agreement between America and Russia. But there is not likely to be a dearth of such proposals. This does not bother me half so much as the prospect that many good Americans seem in danger of forgetting the meaning of their birthright in an effort to make friends and influence people.

Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. LAWRENCE W. BEALS

SIR: If Professor Beals is not convinced by the record that any of our enemies "pledge allegiance to 'the party of cynicism, injustice and inhumanity'" I should not know how to argue the question without seeming to charge him with illiteracy. And since he avowedly offers nothing constructive as a basis for agreement between America and Russia, I can only express my regret that he dismisses this question so lightly. I cannot escape the feeling that he has missed the whole point of my article, and I can only, in all modesty, beg him to read it again, together with my letter to The New York Times of July 12, 1942. He will find, I am sure, that I share most of his reservations.

In the present crisis it is of the utmost importance to establish a priority among our agreements and disagreements. I am proposing to begin by agreeing with those who avowedly seek a permanent peace among the nations of the earth, together with the improvement of the material well-being and personal development of mankind everywhere. If those who agree on these things can prevail, there is the best possible chance that the civil liberties which both Professor Beals and I value so highly can be securely enjoyed and effectually exercised.

Cambridge, Mass. RALPH BARTON PERRY

Author Bites Reviewer and Vice Versa

SIR: Mr. Malcolm Cowley, in a review of my recent book, "The Machiavellians" [May 17], writes: "In his own book, 'The Managerial Revolution,' which was published a few weeks after Pearl Harbor. . . ." This makes Mr. Cowley out an extraordinarily prescient individual, inasmuch as he reviewed "The Managerial Revolution" in your issue dated April 28, 1941. This statement which I have quoted is at about the average level of accuracy of his review of "The Machiavellians": approximately the same level as, let us say, the current movie, "Mission to Moscow," which, I understand, has impressed Mr. Cowley very favorably.

New York City JAMES BURNHAM

[That was a bad slip, and I didn't get a chance to correct it because proof of the review was delayed in the mail until the issue had gone to press. Fortunately, the date of publication has nothing to do with any other statement made in the review; Mr. Burnham's prophecies would have been just as false if made at any other time. Mr. Burnham might have stopped at this point, but instead he goes on to assert that Mr. Cowley was very favorably impressed by "Mission to Moscow." I have sometimes wondered where Mr. Burnham gets the extraordinary items of misinformation on which his political theories are based. It happens that Mr. Cowley hasn't seen "Mission to Moscow" and, after reading Manny Farber's review, he doesn't propose to see it. – M. C.]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Rep. Walter H. Judd, of Minnesota, calls our attention to a misstatement of fact in T. R. B.'s "Washington Notes" of April 19. Representative Judd writes, ". . . I voted against continuing the Dies Committee . . . and Harold C. Hagen, of Minnesota, also voted against the committee, contrary to the report of your correspondent."

Pearl S. Buck, chairman of the Committee Against Race Discrimination of the American Civil Liberties Union, announces the formation of a nationwide movement to do away with race discrimination in the war effort.

Mrs. Sherwood Anderson, Box 149, Marion, Virginia, writes us that she is eager to secure Mr. Anderson's letters. She will have any sent her to the above address copied and returned immediately.

Ex-Gov. Gifford Pinchot writes us from Washington, D. C., praising the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill Resolution. "This resolution," says Mr. Pinchot, ". . . is strictly non-political. It is neither for the administration nor against it. It is for the United States of America, and [for] a just and permanent peace between all nations. It should be passed without delay." The United States, he submits, should look ahead and take the lead in planning a better world, and this resolution is the best means of doing so.

We have received a copy of the April, International Literary Issue of The Old Line, a magazine published by the students of the University of Maryland. The issue contains excellently translated stories and poems of outstanding writers from the USSR, Britain, Belgium, France, Latin America and the United States. We want to congratulate the students of the University of Maryland on an excellent job and express especial commendation of the *raison d'être* of their unique publication: "At a time when . . . the publication of belles lettres is becoming increasingly restricted," writes the Old Line staff, "the students of the University of Maryland have felt it their duty to share in the responsibility of publishing important creative literature from the United Nations."

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Books in Review

The Inter-American Century

THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT BOOK,[1] but for reasons unsuspected by the author. He is Farnam Professor of Diplomatic History and Inter-American Relations in Yale University, and the volume is published under the aegis of Yale's Institute of International Studies. It calls itself "An Historical Interpretation" and enjoys an impressive introductory note by the institute's director. One opens it, therefore, prepared to be edified and informed. Having plowed through the four hundred pages solid with facts and figures, one realizes that one has read a tract: a tendentious tract, with slight bearing on the fundamental truths of hemisphere relations, but replete with traits of the American mind which have played a part in the shaping of those relations.

Professor Bemis, I am sure, considers himself a scientist in the field of history. Essentially, he is like a chemist discussing the properties of water and unaware that it is a compound of oxygen and hydrogen; or like those old physicists who regarded fire as an "element." He minutely records all the conferences, treaties, correspondences that have taken place, since the birth of the Republic, between our diplomats and those of the other countries involved. Much of the history of the negotiations between our early statesmen and those of Britain is little known and has been here set down in neat and lucid order. Britain's willingness, because of her fear of Spain and France, to let the United States grow strong in order to weaken her enemies a century ago, was not unlike the policy of the Chamberlains who encouraged Germany at the expense of Russia. It was good tactics then because the traders' world was still expanding. Britain's gains from the Monroe Doctrine were at least as immediate as ours. But even so simple an observation as this is alien to the mind of Professor Bemis. Never for a page does he show that he is conscious of the dynamic forces, racial, economic, cultural, behind the political negotiations which he so sedulously details—and always with the unchallenged assumption that his diplomats are the exclusive actors in the deep drama of hemisphere consolidation. Instead of studying the successive scenes from the Louisiana Purchase to the abrogation of the Platt Amendment as the process of survival, growth and struggle among the American peoples, he prefers to find his motive in rhetorical phrases like "the mission of American civilization," or "the need" of the United States to protect its frontiers against possible invasions.

Along with the writer of the tract plods the honest revealer of the historical data that refute him. On the same page Professor Bemis will reassert the essential nobility of American policy and give details of our behavior in Nicaragua, Haiti or Panama that specifically contradict him. His facts, for instance, expose the infamy of Theodore Roosevelt's fake Panama revolution, which relieved the rough-riding President of the need of dealing with Colombia on the high terms of Bolívar's conception of an inter-American canal. Yet, a few paragraphs on, the author naïvely assumes the infamy "written off forever" through our payment of five million dollars to the government of Bogotá. The power and finance motives of our dollar diplomacy in the Caribbean are large in these pages. Yet our innocent tractarian does not hesitate to conclude that the "Yankeephobia" of the Latin American Republics is unjustified, and to suggest—like Hitler—that whenever our Marines landed, it was to protect the natives under the Monroe Doctrine from threatening foreign intervention. As one reads the book one alternates between irritation at the complacency, and entertainment at the naïveté, of the author. He believes he has exploded "the myth of economic imperialism" by pointing out that there are "sovereign" governments in the Caribbean. He says that "undoubtedly one reason for refusing to recognize the Grau San Martín government in 1933 in Cuba" was "the protection of *property* [including foreign-owned property] as well as life and individual liberty." "But," he continues, "the interventions have all been liquidated." The protests of the Latin American states against indirect interventions he calls "ridiculous," as if to deny the immense reality of economic pressures. And "Mexico has afforded a long trial of the sincerity and patience, indeed of the self-respect, of the Good Neighbor of the North." On page 351, the ethics of our Foreign Bondholders' Protective Council is actually compared with that of Jesus: "And if any man would go to law with thee and take thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." Such impudence would be funny, were it not characteristic of a mind common to apologists of aggression and indicative of what we may expect tomorrow among the champions of "the American century." The book reveals not the faintest awareness that living peoples—with their own values, needs, fears and aspirations—constitute the twenty American Republics; not the slightest awareness that behind the action of our diplomats, our own *people* often indirectly curbed and always refracted the behaviors of money men and politicians in the Latin American theatres.

The history of inter-American relations is dishonored by such pedantic apologetics. For, by the standards of the past, our Latin American policy has not been without honor. We wanted to buy Texas, Florida and Cuba, even before John Quincy Adams articulated the Monroe Doctrine. We were a vital, expanding folk, equipped with new political and industrial techniques for expansion; the Hispanic peoples to our south were still moiling in the chaos of their unresolved ethnic complexities—so much deeper than ours, and of an unliquidated agrarian system. This explains the Mexican War and its inevitable result; but it is to the profound credit of the American people that a large proportion of our leaders protested its own instinctive movement,

[1] The Latin American Policy of the United States: An Historical Interpretation, by Samuel Flagg Bemis. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 470 pages. $4.50.

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even as it did when the same irresistible impetus moved us into Cuba. Why not admit the lusty violence of our expanding nation (which was exploiting immigrants in Pittsburgh and Chicago with the same cruelty), rather than summon up a fake plea of "continental defense against Europe"?

At the turn of the century, American dollar imperialism was unbridled. That strenuously vulgar politician, Theodore Roosevelt, who represented the vitality as well as the ignorance of American business, played the game of these expanding forces. This explains the ugly actions of our promoters in Mexico's oil fields, of our political agents in Panama, of our banks in the Caribbean. (Cuba has not yet recovered from the one-crop economy the Dollar forced on her. And the gentlemen who today dream of American control in the Pacific might examine our permanent shame in Puerto Rico.) But at the same time the spirit of democracy went forth from the American people across the water and has collaborated—although unconsciously—with the growing national will of the Hispanic Republics to curb the power politics of Washington and the finance juntas of Wall Street. This is why the Marines were withdrawn, why the Platt Amendment was repealed, why the insistence of Uruguay, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, that no American state should interfere *on any pretext* in the internal affairs of any other state became hemisphere law. And this is why eventually Sumner Welles, most brilliant of our contemporary diplomats, was able to architect a Good Neighbor policy which is a rationale of a new balance of inter-American forces. To have made living the drama of these forces would have been to write a true history of the Latin American policy of the United States.

The drama is not yet ended, and it may still turn out to be tragic. That the expanding power of America's money and techniques has not lost its virus is proved by such rationalized tracts as this volume. Meanwhile, the continental will of America Hispana deepens and grows solid. It has definitely won not only Cuba but even Puerto Rico within its own cultural orbit. And from Mexico to Argentina—despite the orations—there is no body of potential power, political, cultural or economic, committed to post-war collaboration with the United States. The turn of the next act may well depend upon the efficiency of the democratic will of our own people.

WALDO FRANK

Graham Greene

The Ministry of Fear, by Graham Greene. New York: The Viking Press. 293 pages. $2.50.

PERHAPS the headlong adventure story will prove to be the typical and true expression of our times, just as the five-act tragedy expressed the Elizabethan spirit. In that case Graham Greene may occupy a pretty important place in the history of English letters, for his "entertainments," as he calls his novels of spies and gangsters, are the best now being written. Most of them follow the same fairly simple pattern. A shabby, middle-aged man, laboring under a sense of guilt and unable to ask for help from the police, is pursued by a band of his enemies. A young woman helps him and falls in love with him against her will, by some dreamlike compulsion. Soon their flight takes on the quality of a nightmare, with familiar objects appearing in unexpected combinations and familiarly vulgar scenes transformed by a sense of doom. Sometimes the principal character is caught and killed (as in "This Gun for Hire" and "Brighton Rock"). Sometimes he eludes his pursuers (as in "The Confidential Agent"), but he never fully escapes from the dream, being condemned to live in a half-world between horror and sanity.

Although most of his books have what is essentially the same plot, Greene shows an amazing gift for inventing new incidents and placing them against new backgrounds. His latest novel, "The Ministry of Fear," starts with an outdoor charity bazaar, an utterly commonplace affair at which the principal prize is a cake made with real eggs. But the bazaar has been organized by a group of German agents, and the cake has been baked around a roll of film that they are trying to smuggle out of England. The hero, who wins it by mistake, is a man who poisoned his wife when he found that she was suffering from a painful and incurable illness. Because he is used to living with horror, the spies are unable to frighten him. One of them commits suicide in a tailor's dressing booth with a pair of cutting shears, after saying politely, "If you can spare these a moment, Mr. Bridges. . . ." Another shoots himself in a urinal at Paddington Station during an air raid; but first he has to borrow a penny to open a pay toilet.

A scene very hard to forget is the wife suspecting that her glass of milk has been poisoned and saying, "How queer it tastes," but drinking it anyhow because she doesn't want to quarrel with her husband. And the husband, who loves her, "would have liked to stay beside her till she slept, but that would have been unusual, and he must avoid anything unusual: so he had to leave her to die alone." Greene is always concocting these mixtures of violence and conventionality, of triteness dissolving into horror. His method reminds you of Salvador Dali's early pictures, with their limp watches, their cranial harps, their donkeys putrefying on grand pianos and their landscapes in the shape of deformed human faces. Like Dali, Greene is trying to present a nightmare realistically.

On quite another level, that of plot and character, "The Ministry of Fear" resembles J. B. Priestley's "Blackout in Gretley." Both books deal with English traitors in wartime, both have middle-aged heroes who have killed their wives, and both heroes marry refugees. Priestley may have been influenced by reading Greene's earlier novels, and it is at least possible that Greene borrowed some of Priestley's incidents deliberately, in order to show what the old master could do with them. Priestley did pretty well and Greene did better. Priestley's book had a political aim with which I sympathize, but which tends to simplify his characters. Partly that aim was to show that most of the British fifth columnists are wealthy people given to making speeches about driving out the Reds. In Greene's book, most of the traitors are intellectuals: among them are a psychiatrist, a pacifistic rector, a fashionable medium and a proletarian poet. I don't like his political aims, which are anti-modernist and anti-liberal, but I believe in his characters. More than that, his book has the rare quality of seeming not so much to have been written as to have been dreamed from beginning to end by a logical and consistent madman. Life in wartime Europe has something of that same quality.

MALCOLM COWLEY

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While Rome Burns

Mind, Medicine and Man, by Gregory Zilboorg. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 344 pages. $3.50.

THIS IS an important book, not only on account of fluent presentation and learnedness, but more so as the culmination of a modern trend.

The first and largest part of the text is a popular presentation of psychoanalysis. The book's real significance is in its later parts, where the author discusses psychoanalysis and social phenomena. The fundamental feature of "Mind, Medicine and Man" is that it speaks of the relationship of the individual to society as if each were an independent, self-contained entity. In our time, however, perhaps more than in any other, there are fundamental conflicts within society in which all men participate, even if unconsciously.

The author's attitude toward social phenomena and their scientific investigation is strangely abstract and condescending. He speaks of "so-called culture" and denies that the social forces of culture are an "independent elemental force"; he believes that the psychological nature of the average man has been the same throughout all civilizations. And concomitant with this contention he develops other ideas: he paints an idyllic picture of feudal times: "an almost ideal psychological constellation"; he speaks of the "fortuitous circumstance . . . of history"; he is skeptical of "social reform for the ultimate change of man"; he objects to the term "totalitarianism," but uses it in an important place.

Even his historical facts may be questioned. For example, he says that "the struggle for a parliamentary system and democracy . . . proceeded with comparative ease and achieved most of its goals in a comparatively short time." Centuries of strife and struggle, of wars and revolutions, may be but an instant in the eyes of God or in the Unconscious; they were interminable in terms of human courage and suffering.

Nor are these purely theoretical matters. When the author says, "the Fascist state represents a regression . . . [and] any regression, cultural or individual . . . is bound to die of its own weight," he merely repeats the mistakes made by intellectuals in every state where fascism came to power, and does not exactly add psychological impetus to the present war effort. He continues: "It is impossible to tell what the particular forces are that brought about this phenomenal regression." He believes that the aggressive instinct was displaced into the economic field instead of realizing that economic factors were the only soil in which this aggression could find root.

When Dr. Zilboorg speaks of the social aspects of psychiatry itself it is hard to agree with him. Is it true that "the civil code is intelligent about the mentally ill"? Is it true, even if Freud said so himself, that a man is responsible for his own dreams? What about the nightmares of refugee patients, or of Negro patients who as children witnessed the lynching and castration of their neighbors? Do patients and their relatives dislike going to mental hospitals on account of "unconscious, inherent attitudes," or are most of them afraid of abuse, physical injury, neglect or experimentation? One of my patients, who badly needed psychotherapy, was not spoken to by a doctor during a five-year period of his stay in a mental hospital.

The execution of insane criminals is not only and not even predominantly due to "vindictive justice." In the case of Albert Fish, for instance, which the author correctly cites as an example, I had occasion to examine the prisoner in greatest detail and to discuss his case with his lawyer, the district attorney, the detectives, the individual jurors and the Governor. This was simply a case of psychiatric lynching. Neither public opinion, the jurors, nor the judiciary could be justly blamed. The very symptoms the author cites were explained by psychiatrists on the witness stand as perfectly normal eccentricities.

The author feels that those who believe in "the fundamental perfectability of man at the hands of man himself" require "analytic inspection." I have had such an "inspection" by the man whom Freud called the best American psychoanalyst. I must confess, not without shame, that I still am an unregenerate "idealist" and "would-be reformer." My train of thought is simple: we live in one of the greatest social crises in history; as far as social things are concerned, we do not have to make profound investigations of what "freedom" (the author's quotes) is—any Polish child of twelve can give us an answer valid and scientific enough for practical purposes.

As far as psychotherapy is concerned, the very statistics the author gives show the tremendous prevalence of disorders in our population that need psychotherapy. It is no longer a question of whether it is theoretically possible or expedient to abbreviate the rigid procedure of long psychoanalyses. We *must* devise briefer methods, and some of us have already done so. Otherwise the present state of affairs will continue, with the vast majority of these sufferers, as

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at present, without any adequate medical care. And for such types of psychotherapy a much more concrete consideration of social factors is indispensable. Rome burns while New Yorkers psychoanalyze each other.

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FREDERIC WERTHAM

The Story of a Novel

Capricornia, by Xavier Herbert. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 650 pages. $3.

THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN PRINTING of "Capricornia" was completed in December, 1937, and the book was released the following month. The edition, limited to 2,000 copies, carried the imprint of The Publicist, a monthly propaganda sheet issued by a tiny group of Australian nationalists. The sponsor was really P. R. Stephensen, chief editorial writer for The Publicist, whose earlier London doings can be glimpsed in "The Letters of D. H. Lawrence." Stephensen saw that an early copy reached me and I was forcibly struck by the power, vigor and originality of the book. A few weeks later I was invited to give a course of public lectures on the history of Australian literature. Of Herbert's book I said, " 'Capricornia' captures a new region for Australian fiction, the Northern Territory, and does it with an unwincing realism and gusto. . . . This book will be recalled for a long time. It is in the sound Australian tradition of creative protest."

Later on Stephensen brought Herbert to see me at my Sydney flat and I was confirmed in my view that protest against the conditions portrayed in "Capricornia" was Herbert's primary purpose. But like Stephensen's on the political level, it was a protest completely undisciplined by any rational conception of what to do. Herbert was attracted to Stephensen because he too was protesting, but whereas the latter became more and more fascist in sympathies and ended up in a concentration camp, Herbert has ended up in the Australian army, a defender of his country against the Japanese.

"Capricornia" was lifted out of the hole-and-corner political atmosphere in which it was born when it won the Commonwealth Literary Prize for "The best Australian novel published or accepted for publication during the year 1937," on the occasion of Australia's One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebrations in 1938. Although in general favorably reviewed before it won this prize, the award convinced the skeptical and the book began to sell. The original edition disappeared from the market and became a collector's item. In November, 1938, Angus and Robertson, the leading commercial publishers of Australia, brought out a popular edition and the book was on its way.

When H. G. Wells visited Australia late in 1938 to attend the sessions of the Association for the Advancement of Science he discovered "Capricornia." His reaction to the book is quoted on the jacket of the American edition. He mistook the locale of the novel, substituting North Queensland for Northern Territory, and was guilty of egregious nonsense when he declared it "the best-written and finest-spirited novel that has ever come out of Australia." Tastes differ on good writing, but on the spirit I prefer the testimony of the late Furnley Maurice, a distinguished Australian poet:

> It reveals a ruthlessly elemental point of view. Australian life is seen from a new angle, one blind to the common compensations; a wall-eyed, pagan vision presented with arresting vividness. . . . The magnitude of the conception of the life, the cold common sense, the passionate descriptions of brawls and scenery, the emotional incoherence, the sadistic paganism, the consistent and logical tragedy of the life presented, the frankness, the callous wit, the eloquent blasphemy, the humor, amusing, bitter or ghoulish, the penetration into human and inhuman character, the dramatic incidents, the vast mental plan of the book all indicate an unusual talent.

"Capricornia" is without a doubt an important Australian novel. But as some American reviewers have suspected, it deals not with the central facts of Australian life, not even with a typical frontier region, but with a peculiarly recalcitrant area which has always defied the best efforts of the Australians to do something with it. Grenfell Price, the historian of the efforts, calls Northern Territory "a vast iceberg of failure, unmelted by the soft waters of neighboring success." And this not for want of trying over the years since 1824, and especially since the 1870's. The story is one of booms and depressions, but the end-product has been large fixed debts and minimum development. It is nature that is at fault, not man. The Territory is mostly a poor country and will always be sparsely settled. Xavier Herbert's people, white, black and mixed, are the folk stranded after one boom or another who eke out a living carrying on the residual economic life. His Chinese, for example, are descendants of the laborers brought in to build the railroad and work the mines sixty-odd years ago. In 1938 there were about 5,000 whites in the Territory, about 14,000 full-blood aboriginals, mostly on reservations outside the purview of "Capricornia," about 900 half-castes, and about 750 full-blood Asiatics, of whom perhaps 450 were Chinese. Herbert's novel therefore deals with a peripheral Australian group, isolated from the main currents of the national life, and bearing about the same relation to the average as Erskine Caldwell's people in "Tobacco Road" do to the American average.

Obviously, any effort to generalize about Australia on the basis of "Capricornia" is a folly only tempting to those who know little about the country. Why, then, did it win acclaim at home and why is it beginning to appear on reading lists compiled by Australians for curious foreigners? Because, I think, it is such a vast, portentous novel, bursting with vitality and gusto. For the first time in Australian literary history, and at one bound, it makes the incredible Northern Territory vividly real, not only to Australians, few of whom have seen it, but also to the world. Publications about the Territory are extremely numerous, but they are mostly journalistic travel stories or government reports. The only earlier book of literary quality is Mrs. Aeneas Gunn's "We of the Never Never" (1908), which is a personal narrative of pioneering on an isolated cattle station, far from Mr. Herbert's fantastic railroad, the leading "character" in his book. Moreover, Mr. Herbert's novel deals directly and unflinchingly with the difficult problem of the half-castes who, while not very numerous, are a problem-of-conscience to the Australian people. His only competitor here is Katherine Prichard, who dealt with the

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matter in a Western Australian setting in "Coonardoo" (1929).

In placing "Capricornia" in perspective I do not intend to deprecate its power *qua* novel, though I do think the reviewing boys and girls a bit extravagant in their praise. It is, however, a staggering piece of work. Appleton-Century Company deserves great credit for having brought it out five years after it was first offered for publication in this country.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Music and History

A New History of Music, by Henry Prunières. Translated by Edward Lockspeiser. New York: The Macmillan Company. 413 pages. $5.

ERNEST NEWMAN, the dean of British music critics, argued plausibly some time ago that to write a history of music was impossible. There are too many viewpoints, too much music and not enough guiding ideas to permit the bringing together of all the significant facts into a true history. What Mr. Newman did not say was that so far only critics and musicologists had attempted the task, and not historians. One historian would be enough, but historians are born, not made, and we must patiently wait for the predestined man without shutting the door against his coming or mistaking the preparatory works of others for his unique and unguessable performance. The "New History" by Henry Prunières, just translated into English, is such a preparatory work. It is fragmentary, ill organized and in many ways unsatisfying, but it contains a mass of facts and judgments which may shorten the future historian's explorations into the period from the Middle Ages to Mozart.

In calling Mr. Prunières' work unsatisfying, I have in mind chiefly its lack of guiding principles. Without them, the many names unfamiliar even to the educated listener, the inaccessibility of most of the music, the inadequacy of the words commonly used to distinguish styles, create the impression of a long-drawn-out and purposeless inventory. It would not be necessary to "trace an evolution" or impose a ready-made framework, but if instead of the short declarative paragraphs (which Mr. Lockspeiser should have run together as part of his work of translation) and instead of the feeble and casual comparisons of musicians with Titian and Bernini; of the excessive use of nationality to group men and movements and of repetitious adjectives to describe forms and the merits of particular pieces, the author had stood off from his materials and examined them with an eye to latent relations and tenable conclusions, he would have found certain truths of the kind that constitute genuine history, and these would have lighted up the confusion by making his matter graspable.

He would have told us, for instance, how often expressive intention dominated concern with symmetry in Medieval, Renaissance and Classical music; how persistently individuals and schools had to combat academic ideas born of a previous war for independence; how rapid the changes in musical forms and fashions have actually been and how inextricably intermingled are the secular, religious, dramatic and non-dramatic forms in early modern times. He could, moreover, have given real body to the

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catchword "tradition" by underlining the plain tendency of most musicians since the eleventh century to relish orchestral effects (even in pure vocal music), to shock their first hearers by what we call "literary ideas" and "vulgar imitation," and to extend musical means by going in for "noise," which is nothing more than the daring in harmony, modulation or counterpoint.

The importance of setting forth such conclusions as these can be measured by the obvious difference between the supporting facts—all recorded but unassembled by Prunières—and the faulty critical beliefs commonly held by those who speak and write about music. For instance, reading Prunières destroys what is perhaps the most absurd among our musical superstitions—the supposed preëminence of Germany as a musical nation, a "fact" used for praise in peacetime ("music is so spiritual") and for blame in war ("music expresses the irrational").

Mr. Prunières' book, then, is clearly for scholars, some of whom will disagree with his particular judgments, but almost all of whom will value the range of his research and his original treatment of well known figures like Monteverdi, Lully and Gluck. No reader, it is hoped, will be bothered by the occasional mistranslation of a French word, or the inspired misprint which makes the author compare Palestrina *now* to Raphael and *now* to Jules Romains (*sic*). Let us hope also that future musicologists eager to say something at all costs will never go further than Mr. Prunières' naïveté when he says of a minor composer: "He has left no indication of his repertory, but it probably consisted of well known airs on which he devised brilliant variations."

JACQUES BARZUN

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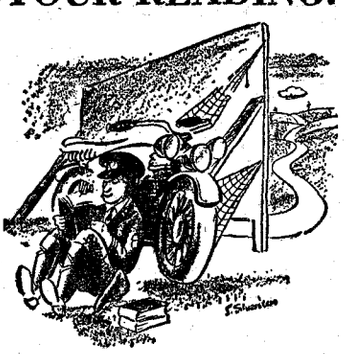

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